



IN DETROIT...

Courage Was the Fashion

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IN DETROIT . . .

Courage Was the Fashion

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT
FROM 1701 TO 1951

By

ALICE TARBELL CRATHERN

For

THE WOMEN'S ACHIEVEMENT COMMITTEE
with assistance from THE KRESGE FOUNDATION

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FOREWORD

How This History Began

THE YEAR 1951 looms large in the memory of Detroiters because a year long celebration of the 250th anniversary of the city's founding occurred. Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival Committee, consisting of public officials, civic, industrial and labor leaders, planned many important civic affairs with the purpose of kindling a great civic pride.

The business and professional women of Detroit expressed a deep desire that the history of women's place in the development of Detroit be told. They wanted to tell this themselves in pageant form and also in written form. These ideas crystallized after Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival was well under way. The Festival Committee generously sponsored the presentation of the chronicle play of women's place in Detroit's history, "Courage Was the Fashion," as one of the important events of the celebration. They set up a committee of women consisting of the presidents of fifteen of the large representative groups of Detroit women to be known as the Women's Achievement Committee of Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival. This Committee at once set about the gathering of material for a play that would be part of the celebration.

Little about women was in official records; and so the search began. Three thousand letters were sent to the heads of women's organizations in Detroit, asking them for their histories and for biographies of women important in the development of their groups. In conversation with older women much rich lore was drawn from their memories. The material rolled in so abundantly

dantly that the professional script writer and director, Tom Taggart of New York City, said there was enough for three plays. The magnificent cooperative effort resulted in the presentation of an historically authentic, dramatic and entertaining play within twelve weeks after the Women's Achievement Committee was appointed. This was due to the quick perception by women of the valuable contribution made by great women of the past and to an eagerness to work together on a great civic enterprise.

The magnitude of the enterprise is indicated by the fact that the plan involved four hundred participants, thirty-three episodes and over one thousand costumes. Hundreds of hours of hard work by hundreds of women went into the careful planning; into research; into the selection of historical and dramatic material; into securing actors and actresses; rehearsing the episodes; planning, borrowing, and making costumes; creating dances and training dancers; selecting and training choirs; arranging and directing music; gathering properties; securing publicity; preparing a choice and historical program; and finally handling tickets for a five thousand capacity auditorium. Women specialists in these fields—fine actresses, great fashion designers, clothing experts, excellent musicians, choreographers, dramatic coaches, great dancers—gave voluntarily of their talents so that all the arts could be utilized to the fullest in the telling of their thrilling story. Great effort was exerted to have the broadest participation by all groups and segments of Detroit, both in the selection of the dramatic episodes and in their presentation. All phases of life and community activity were portrayed, because women were contributing actively to them all.

Groups working together to depict their composite history tended to engender a warm feeling of friendship and a unity among Detroit women. Since the purpose of the 250th Birthday Festival was to stir civic pride, women were thus sharing in that effort and were arousing other Detroit women to a greater devotion to their city. The goal of the Women's Achievement Committee was to make women conscious of their own background and of the fact that from the beginning men and women, side by side, had built this great city and together had woven the pattern which had made it world famous and distinctive.

At the time of the presentation of "Courage Was the Fashion" on June 21, 1951, the chairman of the Women's Achievement

Committee made a definite promise to Detroit women to see that their history was written. Because all Birthday Festival committees had to cease to exist at the end of the birthday year each committee member was asked to secure from her organization permission to continue as an official representative of her group on the Woman's Achievement Committee to sponsor the publication of a history. All member organizations agreed; hence the present committee listed over leaf.

In December, 1951 the Committee invited Dr. Alice T. Crathern, assistant professor of English at Wayne University, to write the history and she accepted.

Again, in order that the book be a composite effort of hundreds of Detroit women, a plan was devised so that it might be truly their book. All women's groups were invited by letter to become participating organizations by underwriting and prepaying for a minimum number of copies. The eighty-six organizations listed in the appendix agreed to participate, thus making it financially possible to publish the book. Promotional expenses connected with the launching of the enterprise have been met by private gift.

The Women's Achievement Committee is deeply appreciative of the great help of Wayne University, President Clarence Hilberry, Vice-President William Stirton and Dean Victor H. Rapport of the College of Liberal Arts. Dean Rapport recognized at once the value of this history to Detroit women and to the city. His interest and willingness to assist exemplifies the happy relationship between a great city university and the city's civic groups.

The Committee is particularly indebted to the Kresge Foundation for a grant to Wayne University that made possible the release of Dr. Crathern from her teaching duties for a semester. The release from teaching time that Dr. Crathern received represents but a fraction of what she has actually given to the writing of the book.

The Committee believes this history to be a valuable contribution to Detroit's archives which will set a pattern for chronicling the achievements of women in other communities.

Lola Jeffries Hanavan, *Chairman*
Women's Achievement Committee

THE WOMEN'S ACHIEVEMENT COMMITTEE

Lola Jeffries Hanavan, Chairman

Louise C. Grace, Treasurer

Women's City Club

Mrs. A. Bruce Knight

Quota Club

Dr. Maydene Williamson

Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs

Mrs. Florence E. Peirce

Soroptomist Club

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*Inter-Group Council for Women as
Public Policy Makers*

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Zonta Club

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Detroit Association of Women's Clubs

Mrs. Pearl Harris

*Women's Committee of the Community
Chest*

Mrs. Elizabeth Wilkins Livingston

Detroit Women Principals' Club

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United Church Women of Detroit

Mrs. Shelby A. Harrington

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Professional Women*

Fern Sneary

The Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. Lewis B. Daniels

Altrusa Club

Ruth Simons

The League of Catholic Women

Mrs. Frank Couzens

Pilot Club

Rene Campbell

P R E F A C E

PLANNING and writing the story of women's contribution to the development of Detroit has been a pleasant but difficult task. To recount all that women have done over the two hundred and fifty years, to list the achievements of thousands of women's organizations, or to mention by name all the women who have made contribution to the city was manifestly impossible. The size of the book was limited, and no one wanted it to be merely a directory or a catalogue. It seemed best, therefore, to tell the story of women's achievements in a broad picture of their interests, the movements in which they have worked, and the many fields in which their contributions have been made. It was obvious that no person or small group of persons could fairly evaluate the contributions of women still active in civic life in order to make an adequate selection for the book. For this reason the Women's Achievement Committee decided, regretfully, that the book should not name women active today unless their contributions have extended over many, many years.

Gathering and sifting the material has involved much reading, research and assistance from many people. Most of the information has come from histories and records of organizations, from old newspapers and scrapbooks, and from personal recollections. Many people were of help in finding these records, and I am grateful to the original committees of the chronicle play, to many individuals, and to the staff of the Detroit Public Library for help in assembling material. Helpful also was the privilege I enjoyed of discussing certain aspects of the book

with Mary Ritter Beard (Mrs. Charles E.), who has made a lifetime study of the place of women in society.

Material of this kind is difficult to check for accuracy, but I have sought always for authentic sources of information, verifying the data whenever possible. There are few inaccuracies, I hope, but there are of necessity some omissions. I can make no claim to have covered the subject completely. The desire of the Women's Achievement Committee to have the book published within two years of Detroit's 250th birthday festival and the terms of the grant that released me from teaching one semester have limited the time for research. But this curtailment is not without its advantages, for when would there ever be an end to uncovering the good works of Detroit women?

Behind the gathering and the shaping of material for this book, behind its very conception, stands a woman to whom the women of Detroit owe a great deal. Although she is far too active a figure to be named in the history, I should like here to pay tribute to Lola Jeffries Hanavan, who first saw the need for some record of the achievements of Detroit women. To her imagination and initiative, and to her ability to win the support of hundreds of other women, may be largely attributed the success of the chronicle play in 1951; and without her vision and her unflagging interest and effort, this book would never have been published. Her courage to start on a shoe-string to meet the need she saw, has made possible this account of Detroit women, among whom courage has ever been the fashion. My own personal indebtedness for her loyal support and encouragement is greater than I can express in these few words.

There are other acknowledgments I should like to make. To the Women's Achievement Committee, at whose request I have written the book, I am grateful for the opportunity to learn more fully the story of Detroit women and for the trust they showed in my ability to present that story. I should like also to express appreciation to the eighty-six organizations that underwrote the book, thus showing their earnest desire for this history and their faith in the promise of the committee that the book would be forthcoming.

Without the grant from the Kresge Foundation which enabled me to take a leave of absence, I could not have completed the book at this time. I am profoundly grateful for their interest and

help.

My thanks to my colleagues in Wayne University extend in several directions: to Dean Victor A. Rapport of the College of Liberal Arts and to others of the Administration who recognized the value to the community of this project and helped make it possible for me to undertake it; to Dr. Katherine Chamberlain, professor of physics, who has collected and photographed the material from old periodicals we have used as illustrations; to Dr. Sidney Glazer, associate professor of history, who read the MS for historical accuracy; to Wayne University Press, under whose able sponsorship the book is published, especially to Professor Alexander Brede, editorial supervisor of the Press, who edited the MS with time-consuming care and thoroughness.

Lola Jeffries Hanavan, Katherine Chamberlain, and Regene Freund Cohane have spent many hours with me in discussion of the material and have offered many constructive suggestions. Without their help and the support of the coffee and dunkers that Katherine Chamberlain provided for many a midnight session this summer, my task would have been much harder.

A. T. C.

Detroit, October, 1953

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IN DETROIT

Courage Was the Fashion

Introduction

I'M FROM DETROIT" came the exultant shout of the young American prisoner of war as he joined his comrades at Panmunjom (Korea). Back of that proud cry lay happy memories: ice cream sodas at Sanders, bicycle rides at Belle Isle, baseball games at Briggs Stadium, the river with majestic freighters bringing in their loads of iron ore, automobiles—beautiful sleek cars or jalopies filled with boys and girls, double feature movies, the big drive-ins where young people gathered for hamburgs and malts, home on a shady street with Mom and Dad in front of the television, and a good job in the factory with plenty of promotion ahead. This was his Detroit. As the cry rang out in Panmunjom and was flashed over the country in newspaper headlines, the name Detroit communicated to people everywhere a special pattern and flavor: Henry Ford, high wages, baseball and the Tigers, Wayne University, labor unions, the Women's City Club, factories, all the biggest and best of their kind.

Beautiful city of boulevards, parks and trees, city of many races and nationalities, city of automobiles, strikes and mass production, Detroit is today a far cry from *la ville du détroit*, the little village Cadillac built on the straits. Founded in 1701 as a center for the French and Indian trappers, twice seized and ruled by the British, it has grown to fruition under the Stars and Stripes. Yet the seeds planted in those early years were the beginnings of the modern city. Yon-do-ti-ga, great village, the Indians called it, and the prophecy in that name has been fulfilled. Detroit, motor capital of the world, is a great city and its

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plan, based on the idea of a grouping of community centers, acknowledges that the city still has some of the village characteristics. An over-grown village, strangers sometimes call it, and the city, proud of her industries and her wealth, is proud also of the name and the friendly homes and ways its suggests.

Outgrowth of the French, and later the English, fort of the eighteenth century, the American village of Detroit became in the nineteenth century a frontier town and then a prosperous city. Commerce increased and beautiful homes lined the well shaded streets. Music and art, fine churches, and generous hospitality made the city a place for gracious living. The increasing and mixed population and the expanding factories presented problems but did not destroy the city's quiet beauty. The twentieth century brought to the city the amazing development of the automobile industry, with the miracle of mass production and the revolutionary five dollar a day minimum wage instituted by Henry Ford in 1914, when a five dollar bill would pay the week's grocery bill for a couple. The barons of industry, sometimes rising from the ranks, built great fortunes. Workers from the South and from overseas crowded their families into the slums or parked them in tents on the outskirts of the city until new areas of Jerry-built, box-like houses relieved the housing shortage. Labor unions grew strong. When the second world war came, Detroit, center of the tool and die industry, became inevitably the center of war production, the arsenal of Democracy. Today as small houses mushroom in the suburbs and bulldozers uproot trees and buildings in the path of new highways, Detroit is a vast, pulsating industrial city. Where once the ribbon farms ran quietly back from the river, undulating ribbons of traffic tie the busy downtown center to the suburban sections of metropolitan Detroit.

The city is Gargantuan, and in spite of its 250 years, full of courage and lusty vigor. It does things in a big way and respects size in everything, a factory payroll or a charity fund. Industry has been the center of its life. Its great men have been leaders of commerce and industry, and its genius has been in science and the industrial arts. Its workers demand that their labors shall earn for them some of the cars, iceless refrigerators, and radios that they produce. More slowly has come civic support of the arts, but today a large municipal university, an art institute, and

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a library, all recognized over the country for their standing, and a symphony orchestra, supported by subscription and the gifts of industry, bespeak the city's cultural interests. And the new civic center rising proudly on the river front that Cadillac found so beautiful is symbolic of the city's growing desire for beauty and design.

Many forces have shaped Detroit's destiny, not the least of which are the men and women of vision and courage who for two and a half centuries have wrought the pattern of her growth. Men and women, for from the beginning women were there, French, English, and American, Irish, German, Polish, and Italian, always men and women together helped the small settlement of Fort Pontchartrain grow to the sprawling, industrial city, courageous and eager for new opportunities, that is Detroit today.

That women as well as men have played a part in Detroit's development is not always realized. In the many histories there is ample record of the great men who have left their imprint on Detroit. Two historians give over five hundred biographical accounts of Detroiters who have contributed to the building of their city. Five hundred men they list, worthy of honor, but not one woman. When one asks, "What of the women?" the pages are silent. Taught by tradition that woman's place is in the home and that history is made by man, Detroit historians have for the most part failed to note the gradual emergence of women into the business, professional and industrial worlds. Nor have they seen that unofficially, but effectively, a woman's hand or voice lies behind many an important movement. "In 1917," says one historian, "the large school board consisting of an appointed member from each ward, became unwieldy and a change was made to a smaller elected body." The change was made, it is true, but the historian completely ignores the women who brought about the change. Back of this reform was a group of women in the Twentieth Century Club whose continued efforts showed voters the need for a smaller board elected from the city at large. The historians have not consciously ignored women's part in the city's growth, but accustomed as they are to seeing the development of the city in terms of building, industry, wars, and political change, they have not recognized that women, raising funds for an orphanage, opening a free school, and educating the

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public to the need for a juvenile court, have contributed their full share to the city's growth.

Detroit has always been a city of men and women working, sometimes wisely and sometimes in confusion, to realize their dream of more perfect living. Not all have the courage and imagination required of leaders. As there are men who take no interest in civic matters, so there are women with neither the ability nor the desire to run even a meeting, let alone a campaign for a women's prison. But there are also leaders among the women, trained by the same environmental forces that have taught their fathers, husbands and brothers, and possessed of the same attitudes and abilities. There are women with brains and courage who can manage a business, direct the policies of a college, or head a union or the board of a city hospital, and still retain their sympathy for distress, their ready response to injustice, and their willingness to work untold hours for a cause they believe in, with no compensation but their own satisfaction in service and accomplishment. These are the women whose record this book presents, not as a belligerent parade of women's achievements as against men's, but rather as an attempt to correct the inadequacy of history and to show that through the years women as well as men have made Detroit the great city it is today. Their contributions have not been identical, for woman's work often complements rather than repeats man's. Still, the contribution of women to the development of Detroit, not only in the home, but in all aspects of civic life, even to the council hall, has been real and enduring.

CHAPTER 1

Home - Makers

TO WOMAN must be assigned all or the main credit for having effected the first sharp distinction between the ways of human beings and the ways of great beasts of prey." This, says Mary Ritter Beard, is the verdict reached by such notable anthropologists as Mason, Briffault, Keller, Peake, and Dorsey. Then, in *Woman as Force in History*, she goes on to explain this distinction in specific terms.

Of what did this sharp distinction first consist? Of cooking, making cloth, devising hand-made shelter, manufacturing domestic utensils of pottery and baskets for garnering seeds and grain, extending the diet and making meals attractive, budgeting the food supply, learning essentials about doctoring and nursing, making animals serve human beings, enlarging the communication of feelings or ideas by speech, song, and dance, and tilling the soil. . . .

Woman's success in lifting men out of their way of life nearly resembling that of beasts . . . was a civilizing triumph. It involved infinite experimentation with natural resources, infinite patience, especial responsibility for off-spring, peculiar taste, a sense of esthetics, extraordinary manual skill, and the highest quality of creative intelligence.

This idea of women as the elemental force in the development of civilization is a startling one to many who have taken literally

the statement that this is a man's world. So long have historians spoken of human nature and human progress in terms of man, that many people and most chroniclers have ignored the fact that the term *man* should often be interpreted in the generic sense and include women as well as men. It has been too generally accepted that from masculine inventiveness has come most of our civilization. Recent studies, however, going back to the first steps by which human beings separated themselves from the animals have reversed this concept and have shown that for the first cooking, the first tilling of the soil, the first shaping of garments and the caring for offspring women were responsible.

When we go back to the first women of the Detroit region, the women who knew the lakes and the river before Cadillac planted the fleur de lis on its banks, we find that they were just such a civilizing force. The Indian women had a stronger influence in tribal life than is often supposed. In reports to the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology, Lucian Carr points out that among the Huron Indians, one of the tribes settled near Detroit, the clans within the tribes were bound together by blood ties on the maternal side and presided over by a matriarch. The women were considered the owners of the land and had a voice in deciding when the tribe should hunt or go to war. Upon the death of the sachem, the women had the right to nominate his successor. Similar studies of the Potawatamies report that their women, too, were "consulted and had influence in traffic with Europeans and other important concerns." The arts of the home belonged to the women: shaping the pottery dishes, weaving the baskets, cleaning and shaping the skins for mocassins and clothing, tilling the soil, and cultivating the corn and the few vegetables they knew. Women also had an important part in ceremonials. A French colonial memoir of 1707 speaks of the ceremonial dancing and singing of the Indian women and girls.

These Indians, the Hurons, the Potawatamies, and the Ottawas, were the principal groups that came at Cadillac's invitation to settle in the vicinity of the fort. When the French women arrived, they found among the Indians a society in which the woman was a more important figure in the many aspects of homemaking than her warrior mate. Much of the work was hers, it is true, but she enjoyed the authority that accompanied the responsibilities. Just what the contribution of the Indian women

to the settlement may have been is difficult to ascertain, but we know that the relationship was in general an easy, friendly one. The Indian women taught the French something of foods that could be planted and gave generously of their lore in medical herbs. Cadillac encouraged his men to take Indian wives, and although most of them preferred to wait for the French women, Indian wives and sweethearts were by no means unknown. Several of Detroit's oldest and best families are proud of their inheritance of Indian blood.

In many ways frontier life repeats primitive experience. It must deal with problems of food, supplies, agriculture, and nursing somewhat as primitive people dealt with them, in ways no longer necessary in settled communities. The French women who followed their husbands into the wilderness were actually a civilizing influence, as Mary Beard uses the term. Cadillac and his men were highly civilized, but in this distant outpost, surrounded by savages, without women and the influence of the homes they create, the trappers and soldiers might have sunk to an almost animal-like existence. In the early years some of them did revert to savagery. Cadillac writes of this behavior among some of his men, acknowledging that "with wolves one learns to howl." That the more civilized amenities of life were at all preserved was in good part the work of the women who established homes on the river bank. These French women indeed faced a task that called for experiment with natural resources, patient manual skill, and creative intelligence. Fortunately they were women of spirit and courage who had these qualities to give.

French women of the working class, who made up a large part of the pioneer group, were neither ignorant nor sheltered. They were used to independence and to helping in decisions. For centuries they had belonged to trade guilds and had been active in the economic life of their country. Women of the Middle Ages, Georges François Renard points out, had "an economic independence such as is hardly to be met with in our time." Women were not merely passive guild members, either. Renard tells an amusing story of the French men bakers of Pontoise who wanted a monopoly of bread baking and so tried to keep women bakers out of the guild on the ground that women were not strong enough to knead the loaves. The women fought this "protective legislation" so bitterly that the men were not able to withstand

them. In the seventeenth century middle class women worked with their husbands, ran inns and taverns, and often managed much of the household economy.

There is every reason to believe that the French and Canadian women whose task it was to bring the civilizing influence of the home to the trappers' huts were well equipped to do so. Some, like the Cadillac and de Tonti ladies, coming from a lineage of culture and distinction, brought gentle manners and graces foreign to the simpler, cruder manners of the trappers and artisans who made up the larger part of the group. The brilliant French women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to whose salons flocked the best minds of Paris and under whose influence the ideas of progress, civility, and good taste developed, remind us of the intellectual heights to which women of the period could rise. There is no evidence of contact between the "ladies" of early Detroit and the salons, but an aristocratic element was part of the early settlement, and it was not lost. It combined with the tougher fiber, the resiliency and gaiety, of the middle class settlers to produce a people strong enough to endure hardship and fine enough to treasure the good things of life.

That the French women were to build homes in the settlement on the straits was decided very early. Their part in weaving the pattern of the city began in Quebec in 1701 when Marie Thérèse Guyon Cadillac stepped into the canoe that was to take her on a journey of over a thousand miles to join her husband. Several months before, Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac had planted the French flag on the banks of the straits between Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair and established there a fort and trading post. But Cadillac was no mere trapper. He had visions of a colony that should bring renown to France and wealth and glory to himself. In token that they would there establish homes, he and Alphonse de Tonti, his lieutenant, had sent to Quebec for their wives.

As the two women, accompanied by four attendant women, and escorted by Canadian *voyageurs*, journeyed along the St. Lawrence and crossed Lake Ontario and Lake Erie to the new Fort Pontchartrain, they must often have thought of the homes and friends they were leaving. Mme Cadillac had brought her seven-year-old son—a ten-year-old son had accompanied his father—but she had left in Quebec her two young daughters. Yet never did she hesitate to undertake the journey. "A woman

who loves her husband as she should," she told remonstrating friends, "has no stronger attraction than his company, wherever it may be."

The first white women ever to penetrate this wilderness, they were given a fervent welcome by the soldiers and Indians. It was a momentous occasion and the ladies did not minimize its importance by arriving in travel-worn garments. If we may trust tradition, they stepped from the canoes gowned as ladies of fashion and rank. This instinct was right. To the Indians, still skeptical as to the white man's purpose, their coming meant that the French did want peace, not war, and that their proffers of friendship were sincere. To the soldiers their coming gave assurance that the few rude huts raised on the river bank would be more than a temporary station for trappers and traders; it meant that there on the straits would be homes of men, women and children; that into the wilderness would come the arts of home-making: spinning, gardening, cooking, and the rearing of children; that into the community would come a woman's voice and a woman's influence.

The women brought with them the mixing bowl, the needle and the loom, and precious seeds from gardens at home, giving assurance that the arts and skills of the homes they had left would be perpetuated in the new land. While the men were trapping and trading and building houses, the women would build the homes. Their task was not to be an easy one, nor had the women expected it to be. Their task was to bring the art of homemaking into the small log huts on the river; and they did it. From the first their needles were busy mending rips in leather jackets or patching rough woolens for the men at the garrison or even for the Indians. Women have always insisted on laundering, and the French women did as their sex had done for thousands of years, washed the soiled clothes in the creeks or the river, beat them clean on rocks, and hung them on bushes to dry.

While the men were working in the forest, women spent long hours cooking over the open fire. Cadillac had had an oven built near the fort for common use, and the baking was all done there, but other cooking the women did at crude fireplaces. Food, fortunately, was plentiful of its kind, and the women were good cooks. The wheat the men had planted in expectation of home-baked loaves of bread when the women arrived, did not do well,

and until 1706 when Cadillac brought eight tons of French wheat from Quebec, the only grain was corn. Even this was grown with difficulty in the heavy clay soil that had to be worked by hand the first two years. What nature did not provide in the way of soil she made up for in other ways. Wild game was plentiful for the table: turkey, partridge, and duck abounded, and as late as the nineteenth century wild pigeons were so plentiful that they could be killed with a stick. The river was full of sturgeon, white fish, pickerel, pike, and bass. Wild grapes grew over the trees, and thick patches of strawberries, raspberries and whortleberries were everywhere. From France came the seedlings that grew into the great pear trees, one of which stood by nearly every house. There was little white sugar in common use, but the maple syrup and sugar made by the Indian women proved an excellent substitute. The women had small gardens where they grew beans and squash, and there was always fruit, fresh in summer or dried in winter. The savory stews, broiled sturgeon, spitted partridge, served with fragrant wintergreen tea sweetened with soft maple sugar, must have been a solace to many a cold and weary trapper.

There was some spinning and weaving, but less than might have been expected. Sheep wool, it is reported, was regularly thrown out, and much of the cloth was shipped in from Quebec. Even the art of soap making was quite uncommon. The men also seem to have known surprisingly little about living from the land. Early accounts tell of piles of manure, grown too large for comfort, that were hauled away to be thrown into the river instead of being used for fertilizer. Even well into the second half of the century, when a large acreage was under cultivation, many of the French farms were not very successful. In 1770 and again in 1780 grain was very scarce, almost unobtainable. The reason for this situation, so different from that in the New England Colonies, seems to lie in the obvious fact that the early settlers were trappers, not farmers, and that many of their wives had not been trained to spin and weave and apparently had little desire to learn.

But if the French women were less skilled in spinning and weaving than the women of New England, in making merry and pleasing their men folk with shy glances and soft smiles, they were probably more adept. The French settlers were a gay

people and fond of parties. On the first evening of their arrival Mme Cadillac and Mme de Tonti were called on to organize dances and arrange singing parties. In the decades that followed, no matter how hard the life or how discouraging the outlook for the fort, the women gathered singing parties around the fireside and the girls twined bright ribbons in their dark hair and urged the fiddlers on as they danced in the hall. Outside they watched the men race their little Canadian ponies down the streets in summer and on the river ice in winter. Soon there were weddings and christening parties to celebrate with wine and song.

Into the meagerly furnished homes they brought what simple luxuries they could. Mme Cadillac's possessions suggest the wealthy home from which she came: three tablecloths, a dozen napkins, a moquette carpet, porcelain bracelets, and copper candlesticks. Other homes had far less. A sale list for 1709 enumerates a feather pillow, lining for a night cap, two babies' caps (half worn), a curling iron, a worthless stay, two cradles, and five cakes of soap. The meagerness of the list is pathetic, but the articles tell surely of a woman's presence. Provisions for childbirth might be most inadequate, but the mothers wanted caps and cradles for the babies and curls for themselves to delight the eyes of their husbands. These simple treasures were symbols of a life they had left behind and so important in creating and preserving the spirit of the home in a new land.

Women have always assumed responsibility for the continuance and care of life. There was much of this responsibility for the women of *la ville du détroit*, for most of the little houses sheltered large families. Mme Cadillac's baby daughter, probably the first child to be born in the settlement, was baptised in 1704. Within six years she bore four more children. In the baptismal records of Ste Anne's Church one can follow the fortunes of the settlement. In 1707 fourteen children were born; in 1708, thirteen. For several years after 1711, the births fell to about two a year. By 1730, after increased immigration had brought new life, the number increased to ten or twelve a year. In 1751 twenty-five babies were born. Since there were that year only thirty-three women over fifteen in the colony, the record speaks for itself. One woman is said to have born thirty children, and many families had ten or twelve. Dr. Jean Chapoton and his wife, Magdelaine Esteve, reared a family of twenty-two. The

number of living children seldom represented the total number of births, for infant and child mortality was very high in Detroit's first half century.

At fifteen or before, children were adults. Many girls married at thirteen or fourteen and went almost without transition from playing with dolls to caring for their babies. The youthful bride of Dr. George Christian Anthon, who came to Detroit as surgeon of the post in 1760, is said to have been married holding her doll in her arms. The large families and the early marriages led, of course, to early independence among the children. There was no time for coddling, no time for schooling except for some in connection with the church. Mothers brought babies into the world, saw that they went to mass, gave them what little they could in rudiments of education, taught the girls something of the arts of home-making, and then watched them start homes of their own.

The hardships of the French settlement were not all physical. There must have been a great deal of emotional strain for both men and women. One source of strain was the uncertain fate of the settlement during the first thirty years or so. In 1703 and again in 1706 groups of women arrived, and soldiers coming as reinforcements for the garrison often brought their wives with them. The settlement was growing well until in 1711 Cadillac was forced to leave the colony for which he had labored and planned. The story of his disputes with the Jesuits and the trading company in Montreal is a long, involved one, but whatever the causes, the order to leave was a great disappointment to him and almost a tragedy to the community. He had been a gallant and resourceful leader, superior to most of his successors, and his going so discouraged the settlement that many left to return to Canada. In 1719 the settlement was little larger than it had been in 1701. Part of the reason for this was the ill-considered policy of de Tonti and his superiors who declared invalid all Cadillac's grants, refused to renew the trading permits he had given, and levied increased taxes. No man knew whether the land he worked was his to keep or whether it might at any moment be snatched away. But in 1719 new impetus was given by the arrival of a group of immigrants who had been lured by the fantastic schemes of John Law's "Mississippi Bubble." Between 1720 and 1730 the group again dwindled, and in 1737 when the garrison was reduced to seventeen soldiers, it must have looked as if Fort

Pontchartrain was doomed. A man alone might easily leave, as some did, but the transfer of a family was less easily achieved. Women are loth to give up the homes they have labored for and the gardens they have planted. In 1749 nearly fifty persons, largely from Normandy, and nine or ten families from Montreal arrived, encouraged by the governor general's offer of tools, animals, seed, and a year's support for the women and children. By 1751 the population had reached the high point of five hundred with an additional one hundred in the garrison. Almost for the first time, the settlers could feel that their homes were permanent.

There were other causes for anxiety. Shut off almost completely from other settlements, the fort was almost surrounded by Indians, often several thousand of them. Of few other settlements in this country were Indians so much a part. They were, for the most part, tribes friendly to the French, whom Cadillac had urged to settle near the fort, for the French, far more than the English, had the gift of establishing easy relations with their red neighbors. But even friendly Indians could be troublesome and at times dangerous. Until well into the nineteenth century the Indians were always in Detroit. They brought their furs to the fort for trading, they camped along the river with their families, they got drunk on the traders' whiskey and brandy, and they stalked into the houses demanding food. The women never dared refuse them, for an angry Indian might shoot a burning arrow into a thatched roof or attack people on the farms outside the fort. Several fires were set by burning arrows, and the possibility of a conflagration was constantly in people's minds, although no really calamitous fire occurred until 1805.

Sickness was another cause of strain. Malaria was a constant foe and recurring fits of ague troubled many all their lives. There was often a doctor attached to the fort, but much of the nursing and the treating of the sick fell to the women. A French document of 1707 speaks of the lack of anyone to care for the sick and notes that much of the needed nursing was done by Mme Cadillac. From the Indian women the French women learned something of herbal remedies to supplement the knowledge they had brought from Europe. There was garlic for the cholera, spruce bark for ailing kidneys, and an herb tea for malaria that many felt was better than quinine, or the "bark," as it was called. Scarlet fever and smallpox took many lives, especially among

the children, in spite of the doses of red pepper and vinegar their mothers administered. There was no milk at first, and for many years, very little. If a mother could not nurse her baby long enough or find a wet-nurse, the child died. This happened occasionally. Even when there was a physician at the fort, the women probably took care of all the births, for although men doctors had begun to study obstetrics, most women preferred a midwife.

In 1760 after the French had surrendered Canada, the British took over Detroit. There was consternation at first, and some bitterness, but surprisingly little real conflict. As the English soldiers and the Scotch and Irish traders who followed them gradually filled up the village, many of the French moved out on the ribbon farms along the river, where some of the men reverted to trapping, leaving the women to manage the farms. The French girls, however, fraternized gladly with the dashing English soldiers, teaching them French songs and dances. When Sir William Johnson, in charge of Indian affairs for the British, visited the fort, the best French families got out their fine linens and silver and uncorked their rare old wines to entertain him. Tradition credits a French girl, Angelique Cuillerier *dit* Beaubien, with warning Gladwin, the English commandant, of the danger of Pontiac's conspiracy. She had overheard her own father plotting with the Indian chieftain, but her loyalties were to the new government, possibly because of young James Sterling, whom she later married.

During the Revolutionary period, life was not very easy for the French women. The winters were cold, so cold that in 1779 many of the cattle died from exposure. There was wood enough in the forest, but little in the houses. Lack of roads made the forest inaccessible and wood very expensive. Some of the French, who had never wholly accepted the English, gave their sympathies to the Americans and as a result suffered at the hands of the British. Even James Sterling, because of his French wife and American sympathies, was forced to leave the colony. Others were put to work on the fortifications or pushed into the army and forced to lead Indian bands to attack the Americans. The Indians, always unpredictable, sided with the English against the Americans, who, they feared, would cut down the forests and destroy their trapping. There was some talk in the American army of attacking Detroit, but the plans were not carried out.

At the close of the war the English continued to hold the fort until 1796 when "mad" Anthony Wayne convinced the Indians in a crushing defeat at Fort Miami (near Toledo) that they had better make peace, and Jay's treaty secured the Detroit territory for the Americans. Not until then were the Stars and Stripes raised over Detroit.

The number of women in Detroit increased gradually after 1760 as English women joined their husbands, and by 1780 there were a goodly number of wives and daughters of officers and merchants. After 1796, although many of the English left, their number was made up by many fine American families who came from Ohio and the East. These English and American women with some of the French women formed a very pleasant group that in spite of all the physical difficulties of life on the frontier lent a certain elegance to Detroit's social life. It must have seemed at times an incongruous elegance, as ladies in silk gowns and gentlemen with powdered hair and black silk knee breeches walked the narrow streets, jostled by dirty, paint-besmeared Indians, loaded with bales of fur, baskets, and "mococks" of maple sugar.

In spite of the lack of roads that kept it isolated from other settlements, Detroit was the most popular trading post of the west. Merchants had set up stores, and traders went up and down the river with surprising frequency, their boats loaded with almost fabulous wares from Eastern and European ports. Traders from New York came often to bargain for Indian furs and filled the shelves of the merchants with wares in which the women delighted. Rolls of crimson satin and flowered calico, silk petticoats, green silk umbrellas, bundles of swan skins (for trimming capes and bonnets), and gold spangled shoes for the ladies were piled up along with great bales of mink, beaver, and other furs brought in by the Indians. Ladies now dressed in high fashion, and the bit of scarlet cloth and gimp edging that had pleased the French girls of Cadillac's day gave way to silks, satins and gold lace, which in 1790 Mme Persie, the dressmaker, offered to make up "in London styles." A Miss Anne Powell, visiting Detroit in 1789, wrote a friend: "The ladies visited us in full dress, although the weather was boiling hot." The ladies did not content themselves with calling in full dress. Miss Powell describes a picnic planned for her on this occasion. Several boat-

loads of young people, accompanied by a group of musicians went to one of the many river islands for an elaborate luncheon served under a green bower erected that morning by servants. While the company ate, the musicians played. In winter the ladies watched the races on River Rouge, well wrapped in sable lined cloaks, and sometimes enjoyed a feast of roasted venison, sitting around the barbecue pits on bear skins and buffalo robes.

All in all Detroit was a pleasant community. Tarleton Bates, quartermaster, urged his brother in 1779 to join him: "Detroit is healthy, pleasant, and affords a good English society of both sexes, and a young man may acquire the French language with great ease in one or two years with little application." And Father Levadoux, arriving in Detroit in 1796, wrote: "The people here are better instructed and more religious than in the Illinois country. I cannot but praise their piety and good manners."

The women of eighteenth century Detroit had done their work well. On the banks of the river they had helped create the homes that formed the community and had drawn the ties of the family circle. The vicissitudes of location, Indian warfare and shifting governments had discouraged spectacular growth of the settlement, but the homes, French and English, were well founded, so well that the fire with which the town was destined to start its second century did not destroy them, although it destroyed the houses.

Detroit's second century started grimly enough with the fire that left only one house standing. It was a terrible experience. Harrowing, too, were the months following, when decisions over land grants and plans for the city were made and remade several times. The women had the task of keeping a semblance of a home, even during the delays in building, and of somehow feeding and clothing the family. The town finally rose from the ashes, but was hardly on its feet when the War of 1812 broke out, intensifying the fear of Indian attacks that had troubled the town since the fire. Mrs. McMillan saw her husband scalped near the house and her son kidnapped, an experience that many women feared might be theirs. After Hull had surrendered to the English, the Indians used to bring in their captives, wounded soldiers and women and children from plundered villages, threatening to scalp those that were not ransomed. Pressed as they were by want and fear, the women had thought for the needs of

others. They would stand in their doorways bargaining with their treasured possessions or with their small supply of cash for the lives of the victims whom they then fed or nursed back to health. In 1813 the Americans recaptured the city and Judge May's daughter, later the wife of Col. Edwards, found the precious American flag that had been stored during British occupancy of the fort. It was to hang again from the old Mansion House. Peace came, the panic that followed the war subsided, and in a few years the first waves of western migration began to hit the city. Prosperity was around the corner.

But before the corner could be turned, cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1834 twice took the lives of a tenth of the population and called upon many women to nurse the sick and dying. The city found relief from this tragedy in the boom of 1836. Women heard the men talking of land speculation and railroads to be built and were jostled in the streets by the hundreds of strangers who arrived daily by boat, sometimes as many as a thousand, to crowd the stores and hotels and create confusion everywhere. The city grew from five thousand in 1834 to nearly ten thousand in 1840, and to forty thousand in 1854. During all the confusion of sudden wealth, financial panics and the Mexican and the Civil wars, the women were a stabilizing influence, keeping the home the center of family life.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, there was still much drudgery in household work. As late as 1830 some women were still taking their washing to the river, although women of means had it done at home. Candles had to be dipped and water brought from the river, unless the family had its own well. Many families still depended on the fireplace for cooking, and large families and the tradition of hospitality that prevailed demanded that quantities of food be always on hand. Elizabeth Cass Goddard has left an account of the many duties that fell to her grandmother, wife of Governor Cass.

Housekeeping in those days was not comfortable. As General Cass was Governor of the Northwest Territory,* his home was naturally the center of hospitality, and in his official position he was obliged to entertain all distinguished

* Mrs. Goddard is in error. Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory from 1813-1831.

guests. At best the half breed servant was not very competent and the burden of work of all kinds fell on Mrs. Cass. The catering was no easy task: putting down the pork in brine, smoking the hams, supplying the larder with pies, pound cake, plum cakes, preserves, and dried apples, all of which was the personal labor of my grandmother, and demanded constant watchfulness. Add to this the clothing and educating of five children; and still always ready to act the part of a gracious and lovable hostess. One wonders how, as my mother often told me, she always found time to read for several hours every day. My mother often described in a thrilling manner the visits of the Indian tribes when they came to the Governor's home for their payments.

Juliana Trumbull Woodbridge, the Connecticut bride Judge Woodbridge brought to Detroit, also left stories of stepping over and around sleeping Indians when she went to the kitchen at night for the baby's milk. She found the experience terrifying rather than thrilling.

Between 1830 and the Civil War, many improvements began to make housework easier for women. Stoves were in common use by 1835 and by 1860 coal had taken the place of wood for most families. Gas light and the sewing machine came in about the same time, although at first only a few families could afford either. By 1850 running water had been piped to many houses, and within a few years, bath tubs appeared, but for a while they remained an object of curiosity. Still later, the house to house delivery of milk and ice, and the wagons of fruit and vegetables, heralded by the cry

"'Tatoes, 'Tatoes,
Come out and look at my 'tatoes,"

eased the burden of shopping. The introduction of the telephone in Detroit in 1878 started the vogue of the telephone parties, at which ladies who had this new wonder in their homes invited their friends in to use it. By 1896 there were over five thousand telephones and within a few years they were in such common use that many women could telephone an order to the grocer instead of going themselves or sending a child. When canned goods be-



Simple, yet very neat

A very becoming house gown

came available in the twentieth century the demands on the housewife were still further reduced.

Since the first world war, housekeeping has been all but revolutionized. Electricity has taken over much of the work formerly done by hand, and frozen foods, refrigerated cars, and airborne express have cut the time for the preparation of food and increased the variety. A car in the garage simplifies shopping still further, and for some a radio and television lessen the monotony of what work is left. Man has done much through his inventions to lessen woman's work in the house. Comparatively few middle class families now have maids, and there is less need and less room for them than there used to be, for the apartment houses that began to be built around the turn of the century have increased and now single houses are smaller. The modern housewife can run the vacuum in the morning before she goes out to a board meeting, and on her way home from the club or from her job can pick up chopped steak, frozen broccoli, frozen mashed potatoes, a loaf of bread and a lemon pie, and in less than twenty minutes her dinner is ready. She can do this; but as every housewife knows, she cannot dash off all days so lightly. Housekeeping still demands time and thought, even if it is less time consuming than it used to be; and women still take the brunt of it.

Woman's civilizing influence in "enlarging communication of feelings or ideas by speech, song, or dance" today takes the form of directing the social life of the home, which is largely in her hands. Detroit was a social group from the moment women arrived, and dancing became almost immediately a favorite pastime. In 1815 the ladies arranged a Pacification Ball, to which they invited all the English soldiers stationed across the river. There should be no hard feelings now the war was ended, they said. After all, as dancing partners, British soldiers were too good to be left on the Canadian side of the river while American girls sat in Detroit. And so the women planned the ball, and pleasant international relations were once more restored. In 1831 a visitor to Detroit wrote:

The society of Detroit is kind, hospitable, and excellent. A strong sense of equality and independence prevails in it. Very little etiquette is practiced here. . . . Genuine friendliness and cordiality are the agreeable substitutes. . . . Decent

strangers are always invited to the weddings which take place in the city.

As years passed social life increased, and parties became more lavish in the great mansions on Jefferson Avenue where the families that had made fortunes in stoves, lumber, and iron lived. New Years' receptions became famous, and so did the hostesses popular for their hot rum punch or oyster pies that took the place of beaver tails and buffalo tongues that were once served. Picnics were popular. In 1845 at a community Fourth of July picnic, the name of the island where it was held was changed from Hog Island to Belle Isle, in honor, it is said, of Isabelle Cass and all the other belles of Detroit. Social life changes with each generation, but Detroit is still a very friendly city, and a great deal of the social intercourse remains in the home.

Unlike many large cities, Detroit is a city of single residences. There are, of course, many apartment dwellers, but by and large, Detroiters of all economic levels prefer their own homes. In 1951, 56 per cent of all families owned their homes, and 48 per cent lived in single residences. For the metropolitan area the figures are still higher. No other major city, it is claimed, has such a large proportion of its families living in single, detached homes, which they own themselves. These statistics tell a great deal about the social life of Detroit, for the homes of a city reflect its life. Beautiful residences denoting taste and wealth in the better residential neighborhoods, and in the newer areas hundreds of little houses, with gay roofs, and each with its own little plot of grass and a tiny garden tell the same story, that the men and women of Detroit want their "own place." They want a yard for the children, and perhaps a dog, a small porch for summer nights, and the freedom to entertain in their own home.

With the decrease in the time needed for the mere mechanics of housekeeping, women have had more time for other aspects of home-making. One of these is companionship with their husbands, including an interest in their business. A woman's interest and encouragement can do a good deal, as most of the men of Detroit, from Cadillac to Henry Ford, can testify. When Henry Ford, who had a good job, was told to stop tinkering with machinery and settle down to his work, his wife encouraged him to give up the job and spend his time tinkering. Times were hard

and money was scarce for the young couple. Mrs. Ford wrote her brother that they had given up planning a house of their own for the time being so that Henry could work on his engine. Night after night she sat up with him, sewing, while he experimented in the kitchen or the shed, never telling him that they should have stayed on the farm or that he had better go back to his job. When he made that first trial run at two in the morning, she held the lantern for him.

Some women can give not only encouragement but also sound advice. The Celts, Plutarch tells us, trusted women's intuition and took their advice in important matters. Even North American Indian women were consulted on tribal matters. Women can sometimes by intuition or good business sense spot a difficulty and suggest a solution. A striking illustration is to be found in the recently revealed story of Henry Ford's acceptance of the labor union in his plant. He had made up his mind to close the factories rather than let the union in. Giving word to that effect, he went home to "tell Clara." She was disturbed and told him that he must go back to the factory and make terms with the union. We do not know the details of their conversation, but Ford went back to the factory and accepted the union. It is hard to imagine the difference for Detroit if the great motor magnate had not accepted his wife's advice.

One of the most important, as it is one of the most difficult, aspects of homemaking is bringing up children. It is no easy matter to bring them up in the way they should go, even if one knows what way that is; but generally speaking it was simpler in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than it is now. In the eighteenth, the dangers children faced were largely physical, and no one worried much about their mental or emotional development. In the nineteenth, children were still taken rather casually. Parents made the rules and children were expected to obey them. Mothers brought their children up to observe the Sabbath, obey the Golden Rule, give to the poor, and never tell a lie. Boys were expected to sow a few wild oats, and "nice" girls were sheltered from temptation. Among the poorer families where this sheltering was impossible, things sometimes went wrong, as the number of homes for "fallen" women and their foundlings testify, but one did not talk about such things in polite society. Toward the end of the century when bicycles came in, there were family argu-

ments as there are now over automobiles, and many a mother bought Nellie the divided skirt that was the rage and let her go off on a bicycle built for two, while she pacified her husband's protest, "Mother never would have let my sister do that," assuring him that times had changed and that they could trust Nellie. And then she spent the next few hours hoping they could.

Today motherhood is a more complicated problem, partly because educated women understand more of the difficulties to be faced. Authoritarian discipline has gone out of style, but many a woman wonders just how far democracy in family living should go. She knows of vitamins, prejudices and complexes. She knows the dangers of street corners, comics, teen-age drivers, and even of marijuana cigarettes, but her knowledge cannot always save her children. Home-making can use all the time women have saved from housekeeping. There are no short cuts here—no electric push buttons. The work of building security and happiness must still be done by the hand and the heart.

The perfect home must be built by men and women working together, but in that home woman is the vital force. The mother and the hearth still make the home, though mother may have a job and the hearth have been metamorphosed into an electric stove. Among the women who have contributed to the development of Detroit, those who have built and preserved its homes stand important, for from the homes of today come the citizens of tomorrow.

CHAPTER 2

For the Children

A SUGGESTION in the eighteenth century that Detroit needed a community agency to care for children and protect their rights would have been thought ridiculous. And rightly so. Children of that century were hardy and independent. Some died early, it is true, but those who survived led the normally busy but happy lives of frontier children. Life was rigorous and there was work aplenty for both boys and girls, but not the growth-stunting labor of factories and mines. Fishing and hunting were still sport, even if also a practical necessity. And exploration of the river banks and the danger-fraught thrill of Indian visits were far more exciting than the Western movies that satisfy many modern children. There was little money, and little need for any. No child went hungry, for meat and fish were always plentiful even when there was no bread, a condition not always true in later days. Children occasionally were orphaned, but the houses of friendly neighbors, small though they were, could always take in an extra child until such time as he could fend for himself. That time came early, for the conditions of frontier life bred independence. By fifteen, girls were ready for marriage and boys to begin thinking of building their own houses.

In the nineteenth century as Detroit grew into a town and then a city, conditions changed. Life became more complicated. It was no longer so easy to live from the forest and the stream. The fire that destroyed the town in 1805, the hardships of the War of 1812, and the throngs of settlers from the East that began to arrive on the *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first steamboat, created problems that could no longer be left to private initiative. The

most pressing of these were health, education and the care of children. In these three fields, groups of women were the first to see the problems as belonging to the community and to assume responsibility, serving as the vanguard for the many Detroit women of quick sympathy and deep insight who have since provided for the needy children of the city.

The cholera epidemics first showed the need for community action. The one in 1832 swept through the town leaving poverty and misery in its wake. Many times the breadwinner of the family was taken. Early in 1834 a group of fifty women from Ste Anne's parish, English and French, organized the Catholic Female Benevolent Association, the first philanthropic organization in Detroit and the forerunner of many women's groups that have contributed to civic welfare. Mrs. John Sheldon was elected president, but Father Kundig, the priest who succeeded Father Richard, took the chair the first day to show the ladies how to conduct a meeting. They were a serious group, beginning and ending their meetings with prayer and doing everything they could to keep the frivolous from backsliding. The "commissioners" elected to visit the sick and the poor were changed every three months that they might not weary in well doing. For this public visiting the women adopted a costume, "black dresses with white capes and straw bonnets fashionable with black ribbons." Members who were absent from sewing meetings were fined, first, three cents a time, then twelve and a half. The women gave relief where it was needed and deserved, but they were quite stern about the "unworthy poor."

Hardly knowing what they were getting into, they investigated the conditions of the Poor House, found them indescribably bad, and offered to take charge and to engage servants to do the necessary work. This offer was a most surprising one to come from a group of sheltered women and reveals unusual courage and a great sense of responsibility. In their minutes they speak of the lack of decency, of the failure of the doctor to make his promised visits, of the servant who fainted several times after cleaning up some of the inmates. They wrote spirited letters reminding the "Honorable Board" of what they had done, and pointing out that eight dollars a month was not enough to pay a maid for that kind of work. Neither she nor the cook, who was receiving ten dollars a month, would stay for those wages, they said. Fortunately for

the Association, Father Kundig took the care of the Poor House off their shoulders.

That summer, 1834, the cholera struck again, and the women found themselves facing the necessity of finding homes for thirty or more orphans who had been left by their dying parents in the care of Father Kundig. Under ordinary circumstances many women would have taken the orphans into their homes, but the epidemic had so terrorized the community that they were fearful to receive them. Father Kundig wrote: "I was compelled to carry the children from house to house before I could get anybody to take them in, and in most cases not until I had promised two dollars a week for their board." The Benevolent Association came to the rescue. The women procured a house for the orphans, installed a woman to take charge, and themselves took turns cooking the dinners. Mrs. Desnoyers and Mrs. Rowland provided the milk. The minutes for September 29 record a decision to buy shoes and stockings for the children. Then came the fair, woman's frequent answer to the need for funds. At this they cleared about a thousand dollars and began to talk of building an orphanage. During the winter of 1834-5 there were in their care from twenty to thirty orphans ranging in age from less than a month to nine years. The minutes for August 2, 1835 record: "Orphans in good health. One died." A second fair the next year raised almost as much money, but the weary ladies decided against holding a third. Several times they spoke of building an orphanage, but did not. The second winter they rented a larger home out on Gratiot Road where they put the orphans under the care of the Poor Clares, a religious sisterhood recently arrived in Detroit, and the members were urged to make at least weekly visits "to encourage the Sisters." The officers that year were Mrs. Emily Desnoyers Leib, of whose work Father Kundig speaks with great appreciation, Mrs. John Watson, Mrs. J. A. Van Dyke, Miss Ellen O'Keefe, and Mrs. Mary Palms.

The records of the Association continue through 1836, but there is evidence of a lag in interest. The hurried minutes for August 29, with indication of strong feeling between some of the members, and the lack of any mention of prayers, suggest trouble. In their attempt to supervise the management of the Poor House as well as the orphanage, the women had probably taken on too much. The records end January 9, 1837. That is all we know of

the Catholic Female Benevolent Association, but the work its members had started did not end with the organization.

In 1844 the Sisters of Charity assumed responsibility for the orphans. In 1851 they established them in a home on Larned Street, which they named the St. Vincent Catholic Orphan Asylum. Under this order, which later changed its name to the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent, the work expanded. Another outbreak of cholera in 1854 left a new crop of orphans for whom larger quarters were needed. This gave impetus to the fairs and picnics which for a quarter of a century were planned by kindly women to raise funds for the orphanage. Since 1882, St. Vincent's has been supported by the Catholic Diocese, but the gifts and the generous service of the Ladies of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul provide the jam for the bread and butter. In 1915 Mrs. Felice Girandot, granddaughter of Detroit's first miller, undertook to raise \$10,000 to repair the orphanage, which since 1876 had been housed on McDougall. In the remodelled home the Daughters of Charity continued their care of the orphaned for thirty years more. The recent tendency to place children in private boarding homes rather than in institutions decreased the demand for orphanages. In 1948 the St. Vincent Home was merged with the Sarah Fisher Home for Children on 12 Mile and Inkster. Here in the newly named St. Vincent and Sarah Fisher Home for Children, the Daughters of Charity continue the work begun over a hundred years ago by a group of young women, the first group in the city to assume responsibility for children's care.

By the time of the cholera epidemics several Protestant churches had been built in the city, and women in these churches also were concerned over the many orphaned children on the streets. In May, 1836, thirteen of these women met in the parlor of the Presbyterian Church to discuss what could be done for these waifs. With real courage Catherine Sibley Trowbridge (Mrs. C. C.) suggested that the women find a house for the children and then appeal to their friends for clothes, food, furniture and help of all kinds. It was a bold undertaking, but the women adopted the idea enthusiastically, organizing the Ladies Orphan Association of Detroit with Mrs. Trowbridge, Mrs. Rob-

ert Stuart, and Mrs. Thomas Palmer as directresses.* Later, the word *Protestant* was added to the name to distinguish their asylum from St. Vincent's; still later, the name was changed to Protestant Children's Home. The women were not disappointed in the generosity of the citizens. Indeed, from Mr. Cullen Brown, who gave the first house on Antoine Street, to the present day, the "Gentlemen Friends" of the Protestant Home have been exceedingly generous in their support.

The first home was opened in February, 1837, to seven children. In June of that year the annual report recorded:

Eleven helpless, ignorant little children have been rescued from abodes of wretchedness and now exhibit most pleasing evidence of care and discipline. The strictest attention is paid to the moral and religious cultivation of the children and their improvement in knowledge is far beyond what might have been expected.

At this time it was decided to dress the girls in uniforms of blue calico frocks and white caps, with gingham bonnets for "common" and light Shaker bonnets for Sundays, and the boys in jackets and trousers of brown fustian.

The women had assumed a real responsibility. As soon as possible they placed children in adoptive homes and then took in more orphans to fill places left vacant. In 1840 they built a home on Jefferson Avenue to which two additions were later made. For a few years, when the number of orphans was small, they rented the orphanage and placed the children in private homes. But in 1852 under Martha Strong Winder (Mrs. John) the house was re-opened and the members of the Board assumed many details of management. Mrs. Winder used to shop for the home when she did her marketing and take the supplies out beyond the toll gate to the orphanage. When there were deaths, she would take the small coffins to the cemetery in her own carriage.

* The other ladies of the founding group were Theodora Deveau Hastings (Mrs. Eurotas), Eliza S. Trowbridge, Mrs. Lewis Goddard, Ann MacKintosh Hunt (Mrs. Henry), Mary Montgomery Crocker (Mrs. William), Rebecca Thompson Ambrose (Mrs. Ruel), Jane Hardie Stewart (Mrs. Chas. H.), Roxana Hamilton Farmer (Mrs. John), Mrs. Sarah Macomb, Elizabeth Gilman Palmer (Mrs. Mason).

The annual report of 1859 gave twenty-eight as the average number of children in the home and 93¼ cents per child as the weekly expense, "which sum covers all expenses incurred except the iron fence in front of the asylum." The weekly expenditure was amazingly low, but it reflects careful planning and much volunteer serving. Funds still had to be raised and women worked hard to plan fairs, musical benefits and strawberry festivals.

Detroit was famous for its strawberry festivals, and the women made no mistake in seeing money-raising possibilities in them. The first one given for the orphanage was under the direction of Mrs. Winder in 1858 and was well advertised. One newspaper carried the following:

We make special appeal to all lovers wandering in moonlight with their ladyes faire. What greater happiness than to lead their gentle footsteps toward the Strawberry Festival and the double pleasure of giving them delicious viands and aiding the cause of the destitute.

A few years later they elaborated the festival by turning it into a Steamboat Strawberry Festival, for which Captain Eber Ward donated the use of his "elegant steamer" and the ladies sold 1,325 tickets. Those who did not buy one must have regretted their absence when the next morning they read of the tables groaning with "delicious cakes, strawberries and ice cream and everything which the appetite could desire," presided over by beautiful ladies, and of the dances—waltzes, schottisches and quadrilles—which all enjoyed. Best of all, the little orphans were included in the festivities. Less festive, but fully as effective in raising money, were the series of lectures by John Gough, the great temperance lecturer, which over a period of ten years netted the home nearly \$8,000. In 1877 Mrs. R. H. Fyfe suggested the Christmas bags as "a painless way of begging." Thousands of empty bags were distributed over the city to be returned full to the Home. Needless to say these added to the Christmas joy of the children as well as of their sponsors.

As standards of living went up and prices soared, the cost per child rose far above the weekly expense of 93¼ cents in 1859. But many women gave generously of time, money and labor to meet the growing expenses. Elizabeth Brush (Mrs. Edmund)

served as First Directress from 1879 to 1913, and Anne Shipman Stevens (Mrs. Frederic B.) guided the policies of the home for the next nineteen years.

Today in a new cottage-type center on Cook Road the Protestant Children's Home is still in the hands of women representing most of the Protestant churches of the city. The home has enjoyed generous contributions from many friends, but never has it asked or received any Community Fund aid. Membership on the Board has been a precious obligation passed on from mother to daughter or daughter-in-law. As early as 1887 the members organized their daughters and young women friends into a Junior Society to sew for the children. Later, another group of young women organized an auxiliary to give the girls of the home sewing lessons and varied recreation. When the Cook Road home was opened in 1951, a number of young women volunteers took over much of the work during the summer to give the staff a vacation. This spirit of dedicated service to Detroit's oldest continuing philanthropy is very beautiful. Because these women have had faith that good citizens might be made of homeless children, hundreds of boys and girls have been given the opportunity to develop into worthy men and women.

The two orphanages, Catholic and Protestant, took as many children as possible, but by 1850 Detroit had more destitute children than the two institutions could care for. Two more cholera epidemics in 1849 and 1854 and the panic of 1857 left confusion, lack of employment, and poverty. Swarms of hungry, ragged children ranged the streets, begging from door to door and even stealing. Not all were orphans, but those who were not were often in as much need as those who had no parents. Realizing that the problem was too big for any one small group, the women of the First Congregational Church at Fort and Wayne appealed to the women of all the Protestant churches to do something for these potential delinquents. Sixty women responded to the call and in June, 1857 formed the Detroit Ladies' Industrial School Association.* The begging could not be stopped by alms alone,

* The first officers of the Association were Mary B. Brown (Mrs. H. H.), Mrs. Aspenall, Mrs. D. Bethune Duffield, Mrs. "Dr." Rose, Mrs. H. H. Dey, Mrs. Electra M. Sheldon. While Board members represented chiefly the Protestant churches, the Jewish Synagogue (later Temple Beth El) was always represented by at least one member.

the women saw; the children needed training which would give them some means of earning. The idea of the Association was for the women to visit the homes of children who came to their doors to beg, to offer help "to the worthy poor," and to place the children under some course of training. To get the children to the school which they planned to open, they passed out cards entitling them to food, clothing and instruction. The girls were to be taught to sew, clean, scrub, and wash dishes, and the boys to make and repair shoes and to chop wood. Only sixteen children came at first to the upper story rooms at 26 Monroe Street, but within a month there were seventy-nine in attendance. When ill health forced the resignation of Mrs. M. G. Tyler, the first matron and teacher, Mrs. Electra M. Sheldon took her place.

Getting support for this venture in a year of financial depression was not easy, but Detroit responded as it usually does when some group with courage and vision pushes hard enough. At the urging of Caroline Linn Campbell (Mrs. Colin) larger quarters were taken at Washington Boulevard and Grand River, where children were fed one hot meal a day. Later the women purchased this property. Ministers in the pulpits and editors through the press appealed for help. Food merchants sent vegetables, bread and meat. Nancy Martin sent daily contributions of fresh vegetables from her market stall, and John Hull, a butcher, for a long period sent thirty pounds of soup meat a day. After his death Thomas Barlum did the same. Soup was needed literally by the buckets, for after some children were found in tears, sobbing that at home their mothers and fathers had nothing to eat, they were sent home at night with a pail of hot soup.

The carefully recorded minutes and annual reports reveal much. So great was the need that only the very poor could be accepted. In 1859 thirty children had to be refused as "too well off." There were unworthy poor then as now, and the records every year tell of from eight to twelve who left because they "preferred to beg." The women tried to introduce real vocational training, but found that training in simple household tasks was all they could give. The list of women who worked for the school, and men and women who sent in gingerbread, apples, old and new garments, and milk, and the men of the Board of Trade who for many years put on a benefit performance for the school is one that deserves public recognition.

The Civil War and a growing population created new problems for those concerned with children's welfare. In 1860, when some women of the newly organized Ladies' Christian Union met to plan some philanthropic work, they found there were still children to be helped and foundlings, abandoned by unmarried mothers. These women organized in 1861 as the Society for the Home of the Friendless, and Mrs. H. R. Andrews gave them the use of a house on Lafayette Avenue, between Griswold and Shelby, to shelter the children and the unwed mothers also. Optimistically, they called it a "home for women who wish to reform." The next year the Society moved to Brush Street near Larned and in 1863 to High Street, between Woodward and John R. Here the women provided shelter for homeless children, offering some for adoption, providing instruction for the little ones, and sending the older ones to school.

Active among the early founders were Mrs. E. C. Walker, Mrs. Sarah Ann Papineau, Mrs. E. M. Gilmer, Mrs. David Preston and Isabella Duffield Stewart (Mrs. Morse). There was no Community Fund in those days upon which the ladies could draw. They had to work hard for donations to keep the Home of the Friendless running. After Mrs. E. L. Ford gave money for a much needed addition to the High Street house, they held suppers—tickets 50 cents—to which they dragged their friends and relatives. No gift was ever refused. One night several members of the Board journeyed to Plymouth at the wish of an eccentric contributor who offered to give his piano to the Home but insisted that the Board see it first. When they arrived he asked that one of them play. No one could, but Mrs. Silas Coleman was not going to lose the piano. Knowing that the old man was stone deaf, she seated herself and went through the motions of a brilliant pianist. The performance was satisfactory to the donor who told her she played beautifully. The piano would be sent, he promised, and it was, but they must take the piano stool. So back in the street car they went, carrying the stool carefully wrapped in a calico quilt.

The twenty-five women on the Board of Managers were an unselfish group. Nothing was too much for them to do for the Home, no matter what the personal inconvenience or even the inconvenience of the family. The story is told of a little girl found swinging lonesomely on the front gate of her Jefferson

Avenue home. When a passing friend asked where her mother was, the child replied, "At the Home of the Friendless. I wish I lived there so I could see her." This was little Mary Stewart, whose mother was for thirty years an indefatigable worker for the Home. In 1873 Mrs. Stewart and her mother, Mrs. George Duffield, compiled *The Home Messenger Cook Book* and gave the \$2,200 earned from the sale of its two editions toward the new Home built in 1874 on Warren near Woodward. Isabella Graham Duffield Stewart was one of Detroit's great women. Daughter of the Rev. George Duffield of the First Presbyterian Church, and granddaughter of Mrs. Isabella Graham who came to New York from Paisley, Scotland, to open a girls' school, Mrs. Stewart came rightly by her great interest in all civic projects. She and Mrs. David Preston were elected special trustees of the Home in 1863 and continued in office for twenty-five years.

Gradually the work of the Society broadened. Very soon after the Home opened, it accepted children of widows or children whose fathers, or sometimes mothers, were in jail. Sometimes, the annual report of 1881 said, "waif or stray old ladies" whose relatives could more easily pay for their board than keep them, were taken in. All the social case work now handled by trained social workers, these women did. They also raised the money that the Community Fund would now supply and in addition managed the finances and housekeeping of the Home. They kept a careful eye on finances. In the '80's they had a contract with the "lady managers" of the neighboring Thompson Home for Old Ladies to supply the table with food and do the laundry for \$2.50 per capita per week. The "friendless" evidently were expected to earn some of their living. Sometimes there were large contributions to lighten the load, as when in 1881 Mrs. Fannie Davenport Waterman left the Home \$10,000, and in 1883 when Mrs. Sarah Prentiss gave it over \$8,000.

In 1914 the Home of the Friendless joined with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which had been organized in 1893. Realizing that they were doing much the same work, the members of both groups united to form a branch of the National Children's Aid Society, with its own governing board of men and women. This society serves today hundreds of dependent or neglected children, placing them in foster homes or supervising their care at home and giving help to the parents

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and unmarried mothers.

In 1863, the need that had led to the Home of the Friendless, led to the organization of the Detroit Ladies' Society for the Support of Hebrew Widows and Orphans under the leadership of Mrs. E. S. Heineman, Mrs. Fannie Hirschman and Hannah Schloss (Mrs. Seligman). The emphasis of this group seems to have been upon helping the widow to support the fatherless home. In 1896 they reported that they were paying pensions to thirteen widows. This is an early example of women's interest in mother's pensions, which they were to urge as social legislation in the next century. The members of the Society encouraged the widows to become self-supporting and went into the homes to give instruction in housekeeping, preparing meals, and taking care of children. In the twentieth century, under the leadership of Ida G. B. Krolik (Mrs. Henry) the Society worked to promote public school instruction for the deaf and for better child-labor laws.

Not all children's homes in Detroit had their beginnings in the last century. Recently, several churches have built homes for orphans or neglected children. One of the finest of these is the Methodist Children's Home on West Six Mile Road. For this, Frances Knight, who was asked to help plan and direct the Home, introduced the cottage plan, where children live together in small groups resembling home units. The plan was new in Detroit and is expensive, and so met much opposition; but Miss Knight stood her ground and in the end convinced the Board of its desirability.

As Detroit became industrialized the need of day homes for little children developed. Economic necessity was sending more and more young women into the factories and shops, forcing them at times to leave their little children not yet of school age on the streets or, often, tied up alone in tenement rooms. To prevent this, public-spirited women saw that day nurseries or kindergartens were needed to care for the children while their mothers worked. The first of these kindergartens was opened in the 1870's by a group of philanthropic women calling themselves the Western Association and their small nursery the Western Crèche. Growing more enthusiastic as they saw how well the Crèche met the needs of working mothers, they began to work for a building where they could care for many children. Mrs. E. J. Preston led the group, working as president for seven years

to get the institution on its feet. The women got Mr. Luther Beecher to give them two lots on Church Street and persuaded Governor Russell Alger to contribute so generously from his personal funds that they were able to build a kindergarten. Incorporated as the Detroit Day Nursery and Kindergarten Association, they opened their kindergarten in 1883.* Here they cared for about sixty-five children. Five years later the same group of women, courage still high and conscious of similar needs in other locations, raised \$8,000 for a kindergarten on Franklin Street where they cared for seventy-five children.

In the panic of 1893 more women went to work, leaving more children inadequately cared for. Women worked for lower wages than men and so often got jobs when their husbands could not. Logically that should have left the men home to care for the children, but in few families did it work out that way. On Russell Street neglected little children were so numerous that the King's Daughters of Woodward Avenue Baptist Church opened a kindergarten in 1890 in the old Berean Mission at Russell and Rowena that would accommodate 125 children. In these kindergartens, for which they had first raised building funds, the women themselves cared for the children, fed them, washed them and played with them six days a week. Doing this for other people's children was no small undertaking.

Many other services for children were carried on in a smaller way, often by individuals. Many women who had no money to give gave gladly of their labor and time. One woman whose heart was touched by the need of children was a negress, the wife of "grasscutter" Clark. Mrs. Clark was troubled over the ragged youngsters playing near her window and decided that she could at least mend some of their clothes. Soon she had gathered together a few women and formed the Willing Workers Club, which met every week to mend ragged clothes and to sew simple sturdy garments for the children of her neighborhood. That was in 1887, but the little club still carries on its neighborhood philanthropy. In 1882 the Jewish Women's Sewing Society was formed, with Mrs. Seligman Schloss president. The women met once a week to sew for poor Russian and Polish Jewish fam-

* The officers of the Association at its incorporation in 1881 were Mrs. E. C. Preston, Ellen Barry Hammond (Mrs. George), Elizabeth S. Anthony (Mrs. W. E.) and Mrs. H. E. Champion.

ilies and by 1898 were helping 125 families.

Another small group of young women began about fifty years ago to organize a series of picnics on Belle Isle for mothers and their children. With a street car chartered for a day and volunteers with baskets of food, they would bundle up the women and children for a day in the fresh air. Gradually this led to the wish that more children might enjoy the country for longer periods, a wish that grew into the Fresh Air Society (1902). In 1904, Ida Kopple, Blanche Hart, Anna Solomon, Augusta Brown and a few others founded the first Fresh Air Camp, which for years has given summer outings to undernourished Jewish children. In 1952 a second Fresh Air Camp was opened in the Tamarack Hills.

Some women have provided for children in memory of children of their own. When in 1908 Mrs. Reba Leonard's only daughter was burned to death from a lighted Christmas tree candle, she turned the tragedy into benediction by giving for the next thirty years an annual Christmas party for crippled and underprivileged children. At first there were a few dozen, then a few hundred, and for the last ten years of her life over a thousand children gathered in the large theater she rented for the party. Much of Mrs. Leonard's energy during those years was devoted to children's work in the Michigan League for Crippled Children, of which she was president for many years, in the Child Welfare Department of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and finally in the Michigan Child Welfare Commission, to which Governor Sleeper appointed her.

City wide is the Ruth Alden Christmas Dress Project in which hundreds of women find joy in making dresses to delight the hearts of little girls on Christmas morning. For the Goodfellow Doll Drive, another city project, women and girls every year dress hundreds of dolls for children who may never have owned a doll.

"Woman's work is never done" may be said of her community work as well as of her housework. In 1929, Minnie Stott Jeffries, a member of the Public Welfare Commission since 1918, was disturbed to see the wretched care that many working mothers gave their children. She began to wonder why a public project similar to the Merrill-Palmer Nursery School could not be developed to give these children the care and medical attention they

needed. Such a nursery school by taking the children during the day would also enable some mothers on welfare to take a job and so become partly self-supporting. It was not easy for the one woman member to convince the Commission that her idea was sound, but she did it. On May 1, 1929, on East Canfield Street, the Minnie E. Jeffries Nursery School, as it was named, opened its doors, the first nursery school in Detroit to be established and operated under public welfare.

Its well planned activities, its understanding kindness to the children of insecure families made the school a refuge to the children of the neighborhood. Its influence helped to raise the level of family living, and by enabling nearly a hundred mothers to find work, it helped families out of extreme poverty. The school was discontinued at the time of the Depression, but its influence lived. In a few years the city schools established a system of emergency nursery schools which in turn became centers for day care of children during World War II. The staff built up by the Jeffries School became the nucleus of the larger staff then needed. Today the Public Welfare Department runs five nursery schools, living evidence of the powerful force of an idea put to work.

About that same time, in 1929, the Detroit section of the Council of Jewish Women saw the need for summer supervision of children who during the summer tended to drift into gangs and get into trouble. Under the Child Study Association, they organized and conducted in the Breitmeyer School a summer play school, hoping to demonstrate to the city the need for an all year supervision of the school child. To encourage parent responsibility each child was asked to pay ten cents a day. Twenty-five women of the Council took a course in home visiting that would enable them to understand the children's background. Other women volunteered for service in the school. The plan quickly proved its value and for some years the Board of Education had a summer play school program.

For two years (1946-1948) the Junior League supported Pioneer House, a group treatment home for extremely disturbed boys. The house was under the supervision of a psychology professor from Wayne University. Some of the boys were helped to more normal attitudes, and the studies made at Pioneer House formed the basis for two significant books in the field of group therapy.

The needs of children today are very much what they have always been, and Detroit still has understanding women to meet them. A large number of children's homes, directed usually by women, and several welfare agencies provide for the physical needs of destitute children. For the emotional needs, which are often even more frustrating than these, the women on the boards of the many homes or in various auxiliary groups try to provide. Through management of the home, and in plans for outings, parties and many other little extras, they do everything in their power to see that the childhood of these children is as nearly as possible the normal happy experience it should be.

Emotional needs, we have learned in this century, are found in all children. The destitute child is not the only one needing help in the growing up process. Many children in homes free from financial strain still lack training in responsibilities, incentives for achievement, and even opportunities for wholesome fun. In the mid twentieth century, small apartments, working mothers, lack of playground space, heavy traffic on the streets, and distracting pressures from many directions make it difficult for the child to find all that he needs within his home. To meet the needs of girls growing up under these conditions, women have formed three national organizations which have given thousands of girls a foundation for useful happy living. In the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls and the Girl Reserves (Y-Teens) of the Y.W. C.A., many young girls have learned to live and work in a democratic fashion with other people. They have gained certain skills and established traits likely to lead to the best type of womanhood. In camping, a valuable part of all three organizations, they have had healthful, happy summer outings and learned something of reliance and ingenuity.

The first Girl Scout Troop in Detroit was formed in 1915, three years after the organization of the national movement. Two troops, 4 and 5, can boast a continuous record under the same leadership. Grace Faucht Wheeler (Mrs. Clarence) and Nettie Oglesby still lead the troops they organized in 1915. During the early years Jeannette Schluchter Weber (Mrs. Loren) and Hortense Goldsmith Freund (Mrs. Hugo) gave much time and work to building up the organization which now numbers over 26,000 Scouts. Since then, eight thousand women from metropolitan Detroit have taken specialized training in Scouting, and have

given thousands of hours of volunteer service to help the young girls grow into the kind of women the city needs.

The same kind of volunteer service has gone into Camp Fire groups and the Girl Reserves. Camp Fire groups developed about the same time the Girl Scouts did, many of them in connection with churches. Mrs. Charles G. Franklin, Jennie Patton Beattie (Mrs. Robert) and Mrs. I. W. Stewart each led four or five troops, and, busy as each of them was with other interests, took time to organize Christmas caroling, knitting, bandage-making during the war, and camping trips for their troops.

In 1918, realizing that the reserve strength of its organization lay in its teen-age members, the YWCA sponsored the Girl Reserves, an organization similar in purpose to the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls. Under the willing leadership of women deeply interested in the welfare of young girls, it grew rapidly. In 1946 it was decided to change the name of the group to the Y-Teens and to make the program one for high school girls. In 1952 nearly five thousand girls in metropolitan Detroit were enrolled in ninety Y-Teen clubs, all of them under the guidance of YWCA staff members or volunteer women.

The concept that every child is entitled to a home with the care and training implicit in the word *home*, to an education, and to the opportunity to develop his potentialities, and that supplying these needs is a community responsibility is now a part of our social philosophy. A list of the social agencies and children's homes in Detroit is evidence that the city has assumed its responsibilities. But the stories in any newspaper of neglected and abused children indicate that the problem is perennial and that children still need the protective care of women willing to mother other people's children.

CHAPTER 3

Educators

THE SEAL of the Detroit Board of Education adopted in 1842 bears on its face the figure of a woman pointing out to a small child by her side the way to the stars. This representation of education as a woman is significant of the general acceptance of the importance of women as teachers. Woman has ever been man's first teacher, for the mother's teaching begins with the child, for whom she makes the first patterns, and continues long after he has outgrown the ties of childhood.

So closely allied with the maternal instinct is the desire to guide and develop youth that it is appropriate that women should do much of the teaching in our schools. The same urges that cause mothers to protect their children, to develop their good traits, and to lead them step by step to higher goals, are found in all good teachers. Knowledge of subject matter is only one part of teaching. There must be also patience with the slowly developing personality, the insight to grasp potentialities in the most unlikely children and a sensitivity to recognize and respond to the child's mood or needs. These qualities women often possess in great measure, together with an unselfish devotion that asks no greater reward than the knowledge that an occasional child has been encouraged to try a little harder or helped to see more clearly what he might do with his life. Many women through their teaching have left an imprint on Detroit. A single chapter is inadequate to do justice to their contribution, but their influence lives on in the lives of their pupils and in the quality of a school system, richer by their gift.

In the eighteenth century, in a community remote from the

intellectual currents stirring New England, harrassed by Indians, and still uncertain of its destiny, formal education seemed not of primary importance. Physical needs were still too pressing to permit much concern for schooling, although there must have been some instruction on an elementary level. The settlement was never without a priest and it is likely that he gave the children secular as well as religious instruction. We may assume, also, that there was some teaching in the home, that through the years a few women, more skilled in letters or penmanship than most, gathered children together in what might be called a dame school. Families that could afford it sent their children to schools in Montreal or New England, a fact that presupposes some elementary training in Detroit to prepare them for these schools. The first schoolmaster of whom there is a record is Jean-Baptiste Roucout, described in 1766 as "Master of the Christian schools in this town, and choir master of this parish," but we know little of his school. After 1775, the year one account book refers to "Drouin, schoolmaster at Chapoton's," there are records of several teachers, some of them women, who had opened private schools in their homes or acted as tutors for children whose parents could afford the fees. Beyond this we know little of the eighteenth century attempts in education.

The first teachers who were in any sense community teachers were four young women who very early in the nineteenth century answered Father Richard's appeal for help in establishing schools. A man of vision and resourcefulness, citizen as well as priest, he believed that education should be free to all, including even Indian children. The implementing of his far-sighted plans he gave into the hands of four young women, three of them barely twenty years of age: Elizabeth Williams, sister of Detroit's first mayor, Elizabeth Lyons, Monique Labadie, and Angelique Campau, daughters of four of Detroit's leading families, bearing names still respected in the city, and representing equally the two strains of the population, English and French. Monique Labadie, the only one to marry, did not teach as long as the others, but as Mrs. Antoine Beaubien, she gave generously all her life to support the schools in which others taught. The other three devoted most of their lives to teaching.

Before the fire of 1805 these young women had established primary schools and an academy for young ladies, all of which

were in operation again in 1806. Here they taught the three R's, as well as sewing, spinning and knitting. In his petition to Congress in 1808, Father Richard referred to two English schools in the town of Detroit and four other primary schools for boys and two for young ladies. At Spring Hill (east of Fort Wayne in Springwells), Angelique Campau and Elizabeth Lyons conducted a school for girls which included in 1808 four young Indians with their grandmother, an old matron of the Potawatami tribe. In Detroit, Elizabeth Williams kept a similar school, attended in 1808 by over thirty girls. In these schools the young women developed some very advanced ideas on vocational education. The equipment for their schools included three dozen spinning wheels and a loom, and, under order in 1808, "a spinning machine of about 100 spindles, an air pump, an electrical machine . . . and some colours for dyeing the stuff made already or to be made in the Academy."

Father Richard tried at various times to get support for his schools from Congress, but he was too far ahead of public thinking to obtain the necessary funds. As a result, the young women were unable to carry on a permanent school program. Their work was of necessity intermittent. The meager records we have show them teaching now here, now there, at Mt. Clemens, or sometimes among the Indians as far away as St. Joseph, but always dispelling ignorance and giving their services gladly. While the original planning for the schools was Father Richard's, these young women whom he trained to teach were possessed of vision and initiative in their own right. In 1824 Elizabeth Lyons went to New York to study the Sicard method of teaching the deaf. A journey to New York was not readily undertaken at that time by a woman alone, and initiating a school of this specialized type required unusual enterprise. Unfortunately, the school was not supported and so did not last long. Elizabeth Williams was in charge of the Indian school at L'Arbre Croche in 1829, and MacCabe's *Directory for the City of Detroit* (1837) lists her as superintendent of the French Female Charity School supported by Mrs. Antoine Beaubien. Here Elizabeth Williams probably taught until her death in 1843.

The schools taught by these young women offered the first free education in the community but served relatively few of the children. There were sporadic private schools during this period,

but for those unable to afford this luxury, the community assumed no responsibility. In 1787, the Ordinance of the North West Territory had declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," and in 1819 the Territorial Government had provided the machinery for raising funds for public schools. Detroit, however, levied no taxes and took no action to provide free instruction. There was discussion of the needs, and some citizens went part way toward the idea of community effort by forming groups to support a teacher and school. A "common school" of this kind was established in 1827, and in 1830 a group of citizens concerned with the education of their daughters formed a society to which the Governor and the Judges granted some land, the present site of the City Hall, for the erection of a school building. Six years of delay, discussion and flagging interest followed, but in 1836 the Detroit Female Seminary with a curriculum of high school grade opened under Mr. and Mrs. William Kirkland. From 1839 until 1842, when it closed, the school was in charge of Mrs. Hester Scott and her three daughters, all ladies of such extreme gentility that they draped the legs of the piano in chintz and referred to them as limbs. This was not a free school, but it was a step toward public action in that it was founded by a group of citizens and built on public land granted for that purpose. Public education as we understand it was still to come.

In the meantime the few attempts made to educate the children whose parents were unable to pay for their education came from groups of women who had begun to feel a sense of community responsibility toward these children. Beyond shelter, they saw the need of education. In 1830 the Women's Literary Society, under the direction of Miss Lovicy Williams, opened a school in the barracks of Fort Shelby where the ladies fed the children gingerbread and cookies, washed them, mended their clothing and finally taught them. Teaching may seem to have been of least importance, and undoubtedly to the children it ranked far below the gingerbread, but the philosophy was good. Dirty, hungry children do not learn readily.

In 1832 another group of women saw the need for schools and formed the Free School Society. Jane Palmer and Mary Wendell were the real leaders, and the group possessed not only the vision but the practical ability to make the vision a reality. In 1833

they reported:

It cannot have escaped the notice of any citizen that in our midst are many children growing up not only in poverty but also in ignorance. The object of our Society is to take these children and bring them under the culture and moral restraint of a school. . . . We have employed for a year past a competent instructress and collected together under her not far from a daily average of fifty scholars. There have been no less than one hundred and fifty names upon the roll of the school since its commencement. In addition to the \$232 which the Society has paid their instructress, expended for wood and other incidental expenses, we have erected a plain but substantial school house at a cost of \$475, towards the discharge of which debt they have paid \$350, leaving a balance of \$125.

Jane M. Palmer
Mary M. Wendell
Directresses.

This work, involving as it did raising money, hiring a teacher, and even building a school house, is an early example of the way women have handled many projects in Detroit. Seeing the need, women have had the courage to make small beginnings toward meeting it. Demonstrating that a solution was possible, they have gained the support of others with resources to carry on their small beginning. These young women of 1833 probably had little money of their own, but they put their talents to work to earn some. When other efforts to raise funds had been exhausted, they even made and bottled tomato catsup, which they sold through the stores in "single bottles or by the dozen," and they sold "cake and other delicacies." They too held fairs. So successful were they that by 1837 they were supporting three schools with an attendance of two hundred children in half-day sessions.

By this time, the beginning of the fourth decade, Detroit was establishing its own public school system. It is strange that nearly a century and a half should have been permitted to elapse before this action was taken, but a backward glance at the city's growth will help to explain the tardy development of public education in Detroit. During the eighteenth century three flags successively claimed the allegiance of Detroit, a situation as disturb-

ing as it was unusual. The confusion of these shifts in government added to the other uncertainties hanging over the early colony must have made the settlers wonder whether they could be sure of anything, even of the life of the village. In 1805, having weathered the first century, Detroit was a little town of three hundred houses extending along the water front. People still drew water from the river, baked their bread in the public oven, and extinguished their lights at eleven o'clock for fear of Indians. Then came a series of disasters: the fire of 1805, which completely destroyed the town, the War of 1812, bringing Indian troubles and Hull's surrender to the British, and the two cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834, decimating the population and leaving homeless children and general distress in their wake. The western migration of the '30's flooded the city with strangers, and in 1836 land speculation, get-rich-quick schemes, and rapidly spiralling prices caused a boom which suddenly collapsed in the panic of 1837. In the vicissitudes of fire, war and plague, and in the confusion of a city suddenly bursting its seams and dreaming of fortunes to be made in land and railways, it is small wonder that education was left to a Topsy-like growth.

The year 1837 brought statehood to Michigan and a million acres of land to be used for public school funds. Perhaps this was the spur needed, for Detroit began to assume responsibility for the education of its youth. Seven school districts were laid out and in 1838 ten teacher certificates were issued, five to women.* That year schools were opened in six of the seven districts for a period of three months. It was a beginning, but hardly an adequate one. Less than a third of the 2138 children in Detroit in 1839 could be enrolled, and since each district could determine how much to tax itself and how long to keep the school open, there was no uniformity in the schooling offered. Before long, when the districts found it difficult to collect the taxes for the schools, and the money coming to Detroit from the sale of the public school lands decreased, the schools gradually began to close. By this time the weakness of the district system had become apparent and a committee had been appointed to work out a new plan. Under Dr. Zina Pitcher, Detroit's mayor in 1841, the citizens were called upon to assume the responsibil-

* Charlotte Range, Melvina Hurlbutt, Marion Titus, Alice Rumney, and a Miss Van Ingen.

ity, as a city, of educating the children. There was opposition, of course, but it was overcome, and in 1842 the Legislature gave Detroit the authority to raise a tax for the support of free schools and to elect a Board of Education to regulate these schools. By May of that year primary schools were opened, and by November the so-called middle schools were ready for five hundred pupils. In 1858 a public high school was permanently established. This time the planning was sound. The belief that only through education can the ideas and responsibilities of democracy be realized had taken root in Detroit. Henceforth, the city would provide the free instruction that is the right of every child, not the privilege of the few.

History does not record woman's part in establishing this system, but we may be sure that it was no small one. For many years they had been working toward this end. Woman's most effective contribution is often hidden from the historian, for it consists of a quiet word carefully dropped at the appropriate moment to the right person. Many such words had doubtless been dropped. We may be very sure that women were working with men in this campaign for public schools, for in 1842 the Board appointed a group of women, three from each ward, to inspect the primary schools. Among these were Mrs. H. S. Cole, Mrs. J. A. Van Dyke, Mrs. Robert Stuart, Mrs. A. W. Buel, Mrs. A. S. Williams, and Eliza D. Trowbridge. Never in the world would this appointment have been made had the women not taken definite initiative in establishing the schools.

Much more obvious is the part women have played in developing the school system. At first it was apparently thought that women would play a minor role. They would do nicely for the elementary grades, with modest salaries of \$18 a month, but for the higher reaches, where salaries soared to \$30, men would be needed. Even in conference their voice was not expected to be heard. In the monthly meetings of the Teachers' Institute, formed in 1859, men might argue from the floor, but it was decreed that "female" teachers might express their opinion in essay form only. As higher education became available for women, this attitude changed, and they began to take their place on all levels in the teaching profession.

In 1863 when Harriet Warner graduated from the first high school class in Detroit to admit girls, she went on to Kalamazoo

College.* From there two years later she went to Vassar, where she graduated in 1867 valedictorian of the first class. In 1869 the University of Michigan opened its doors to women. As more and more girls went on to colleges and universities, they were accepted for teaching in the high school and eventually even outnumbered the men teachers. When in 1878 Harriet Warner returned to Detroit as Mrs. William Bishop, a widow with three children to support, she took one of the first positions given to women in the old Capitol High School and began a teaching career that was to win her the respect and admiration of generations of students. Incidentally, had Mrs. Bishop's husband lived, she would not have been permitted to teach, for in 1861 the Board had voted: "*Resolved*, that it be in the future a part of the policy of the Board that marriage on the part of any female teacher be equivalent to resignation."

Mrs. Bishop not only gave years of able teaching to Detroit, but brought up three children, two daughters and a son, all of whom became members of Phi Beta Kappa, and all of whom entered the academic profession. Helen Bishop taught in Detroit high schools and in Wayne University, Elizabeth, at Western College for Women, and William became librarian of the University of Michigan. When Vassar College installed a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, Mrs. Bishop was one of the few alumnae chosen to become members.

Even on the administrative level women began early to find a place. Only a year after the Institute had ruled that "females" might express themselves only in essay form, the Board, desperate over the failure of discipline in one of the schools of the first ward, sent a girl of eighteen to take charge of the primary department. She was next put in charge of the junior department of fifty unruly boys who had driven two men from the school. Her name is gone from the records, but her outstanding success established the capability of a woman administrator and paved the way for the appointment of other women as administrators of elementary schools.

For many years women have made an important contribution through the elementary schools. Many of the great personalities in the school system have been the women principals of these

* Kalamazoo and Albion were the only colleges in Michigan at that time that admitted women.

schools. These were women of stature, able administrators and fine teachers, not only of subject matter but of pride in America and the sense of responsibility that should go with citizenship. Among them were: Isabelle Thirkell, appointed in 1858, who taught for fifty-eight years, and Melissa Margaret Rose, of the same period, both of whom left legacies for needy teachers; Ella Fitzgerald, who worked hard to secure recreational opportunities for her pupils of foreign background; Jane Cooper, graduate of the first class of Detroit's normal training school, who paid a clerk from her own salary to relieve her of desk work that she might have more time with her pupils, and who, when she found that some of them were under-nourished, provided lunches for them, again at her own expense; Elizabeth McKerrow, so able that she is said to have been offered an assistant superintendency, who trained young teachers well and generously sought promotion for the deserving; Maud Priest, whose own love of books helped lead to the establishment of school libraries and whose efforts for teacher's pensions were unremitting; Margaret McCullough, able leader in the old northwest community; and Elizabeth Cleveland, whose classes for the gifted child sought to prevent the levelling tendencies of large school systems.

These and many others were leaders, not only in the school system but in the community. Today the principals of the elementary schools, most of whom are women, consider community service an important part of their work. They are active in community councils and work with parents and social agencies in planning playground activity and in preventing delinquency. They are chosen in part for their ability to be strong leaders in the community, and their influence extends far beyond the walls of their schools. One woman principal was publicly honored recently for her inter-racial work in a community of many foreign born. Of the 184 elementary school principals today, 134 are women.

In the secondary schools many women serve as assistant principals, but few as principals. Out of nineteen intermediate school principals, four are women, and there are two women principals in the nineteen high schools. This is not because they cannot handle the position. The women who have served and who now serve in that capacity have given abundant evidence of their ability. Outstanding was the contribution of Mercy Hayes, prin-

principal of the Hutchins Intermediate, and the first woman principal of a secondary school. Lucy Eliot, principal of the Sherrard Intermediate School during the 1920's, was a most able administrator and valuable to the administration, not only as principal but as their representative in Lansing when legal problems in education were before the Legislature. She gave freely of her time to work on state legislation for the schools. In the high schools only three women have served as principals. One of these, appointed in 1942, has been a powerful influence in her school and community. Another carried the load of the office for five years before she was given the actual title a year or so before her retirement. The third was appointed only in 1951. All have made it clear that women can make their contribution with as much distinction in the high schools as in the elementary schools.

Another outstanding contribution of women to the school system has been in the development of the teacher-training program. In 1842 the requirements for teaching in the elementary schools, the only positions women were expected to hold, were low. A simple examination that assured little beyond literacy and "a proper moral development" were the only requirements. In 1857 girls of fourteen and fifteen were teaching, an incredible situation, unless one remembers that there was no high school in Detroit until 1858 and that no girls were admitted until 1860. In 1870 high school graduation was required of teachers and the age limit of eighteen years established. Six years later the Board announced that preference would be given those candidates who had spent three months in "observation."

By 1881 it was decided that some training was desirable. There were no funds for a training school, but that difficulty was not allowed to halt the plans. In an upstairs room of the old Capitol High School, a training class was started under Miss Funnelle, who came to Detroit from Indiana. This was the beginning of the Detroit Normal Training School. Students studied the art of pedagogy for one semester and then were sent out to practice under an older teacher for a semester. In return for this training they were expected to teach the first half-year without salary. This financial wizardry worked so well that in 1892 beginning teachers were still receiving only a token salary of \$12 a month for the first semester, before being advanced to the regu-

lar \$35 a month.

In 1886 Miss Harriet M. Scott was made head of the training program. She was an able administrator with advanced ideas on education. Her book, *Organic Education*, published in 1897, developing G. Stanley Hall's recapitulation theory, the idea that the child goes through each of the successive stages of racial development, shows her initiative and interest in research. The theory, new to Detroit teachers of the time, was not altogether acceptable and today is discredited by educators, but Miss Scott is remembered still for her warm personality. She carried this warmth into her teaching, believing that every child needed love, an opportunity to experience beauty, and the chance of self-expression. This interest in the child as an individual was a new approach and did much to break down the old fashioned formality of the class room. Under her administration the school was moved to the Washington School building and named the Washington Normal Training School; at this time the length of the term was increased to two semesters. The window in the old Martindale Normal Training School (the successor to the Washington Normal) given in her memory by a group of former students is evidence of the honor and affection in which she was held by all who worked with her.

A later administrator of the training system who contributed much to enrich the lives of her students and teachers was Nellie Jackson, head of the History Department and Dean of Women in the Detroit Teachers College (successor to the Martindale Normal). Miss Jackson was a brilliant teacher, a wise and gracious counsellor, and a lady of culture and distinction. But beneath her gentleness lay a vein of iron. When Teachers College lost its identity to become for a short time a department in the College of the City of Detroit, some of the women teachers were not placed on the faculty of City College. Instead, they were sent to various high schools. Miss Jackson felt keenly that this was a discrimination against women and for herself refused to accept what she considered a demotion. Her firm stand for the dignity of women teachers won her great admiration in many circles, but the strain and bitterness of the struggle was generally thought to have contributed to her death within the next year or two. Many devoted friends, lamenting the sacrifice of her abilities, raised \$10,000 to be given in her memory as scholarships for students

of history.

In 1932 the normal training work—the Detroit Teachers College—was organized as the College of Education of Wayne University. In all this development, the one unchanging factor has been the caliber of the women who as instructors, critic teachers, and supervisors, have guided the training of Detroit's prospective teachers. From the beginning, only the most outstanding teachers were chosen for the training program. That this program has been largely in the hands of women is partly because most of the teachers of the elementary schools, where most of the practice teaching is done, are women. But they are in these schools because they have the patience and the sympathetic understanding required to teach little children. The women chosen as critics of the students doing practice teaching under their guidance have in addition to their own teaching ability the patience and skill to train others in their craft. Since from this training the students go out to teach children all over the city, the critic teacher's opportunity for contribution is very great, and most of them have met the challenge well. An able woman, Jennie Fleming, was for some years the supervising principal of all the teacher training schools in Detroit.

Today able women in the Division of Instruction and in the College of Education plan and supervise the elementary school teaching. The head of the Elementary Education Department is a woman who directs the work of more than twenty staff members.

Of the supervisors who have brought about correlation of efforts in their departments, and who have been a source of strength to younger and possibly less vital teachers, many have been women. One of the most vivid of the early supervisors was Mrs. Emma Thomas, who was made supervisor of music in 1888. Her work was to go from school to school giving a music lesson in each class room every fortnight, inspiring the pupils and showing the teachers how music should be taught. The training school in those days prepared students only to teach the subjects in the regular curriculum. Generously endowed by nature with a large stature, endless vitality and inexhaustible enthusiasm, Mrs. Thomas loved music and loved to teach it. When she came into the room, an imposing figure in her rich plum-colored silk, pitch-pipe in hand, the dullest class came to life and sang their do-si-

do's with abandon. She organized the famous May Festivals with their large choruses of school children, and brought Patrick Gilmore, the well-known band leader, to lend them the glamor of his presence. Realizing that teachers needed training in music and other special subjects, she had the initiative to open her own school, the Thomas Normal Training School, where she trained students to teach not only music, but art, domestic science, and physical education as well. So successful was her school that in 1904 she resigned her supervisory position to devote her whole time to it. Fortunately, Detroit children still enjoyed indirectly her enthusiasm, for her students were allowed to do practice teaching in the public schools. Hers was the first school of its kind in the country and enjoyed great renown. Mrs. Thomas ran it with distinction and sent her graduates not only into the Detroit schools, but to positions all over the country, where the fine training they had received was gratefully recognized.

In art there was Myra Jones, supervisor of drawing from 1888 until 1904, and Alice Guysi, under whom "drawing" developed into "art." Alice and her sister Jeannette, known in art circles as "the two drawers," encouraged young teachers to train their pupils to look for beauty and to paint what they saw. Under their training, art lessons became adventures in beauty, no longer formal exercises in copying. In English, Clara Beverly, supervisor in language and literature for nearly twenty years before her retirement in 1928, did pioneer work in reorganizing the program of instruction in the elementary schools. Miss Beverly showed such ability in program planning that she was sent abroad in 1908 to study the program of European schools. Also sent were Louise E. Rohnert and Katherine White. Later, in the same field, Stella Sufinsky developed the first radio work in the schools, writing the scripts for the plays which the school children gave over the commercial stations. The first kindergarten of the public schools was taught by Fanny Richards, the first regularly appointed negro teacher, in 1872. This was a brief experiment, and kindergartens were not reintroduced until 1895. Regina Heller, made supervisor of the training for kindergarten teachers in 1906, was another able and influential woman, with the rare ability to show young teachers their mistakes without hurting or discouraging them. She planned and executed the Mother Goose pageants, utilizing thousands of kindergartners. Seeking to meet

individual needs in the teaching of spelling, one supervisor wrote a series of spelling books that were used in all the grades for over fifteen years.

The organization of school libraries under trained librarians was the work of Marion Loviss, supervisor of the training program for teacher librarians. Before her pioneering work the books of the elementary schools were gathered in one room where different teachers took charge during their vacant periods. Miss Loviss was one of the first in the country to see the need of trained librarians in these rooms, and worked with ability and persistence to organize a library training program for teachers which resulted in a splendid chain of school libraries.

Ethel Perrin, appointed director of Physical Education in 1910, was largely responsible for building up this work in Detroit. Beginning at the time when few saw the need for gymnasiums and physical training, and many would gladly have dropped it from the schools as had been done in 1896, she built up a department known over the country for its wide-spread and effective instruction. In safety education, a growing need in an automobile city, Harriet Beard did pioneer work of fine quality. Another piece of pioneer work was that of Gertrude Gilmore, who first organized the Children's Museum and began the development of this interesting part of the public school program. These are only a few of the many able supervisors who have helped develop the curriculum and the teaching in Detroit schools, but their contributions are representative of the work done by many.

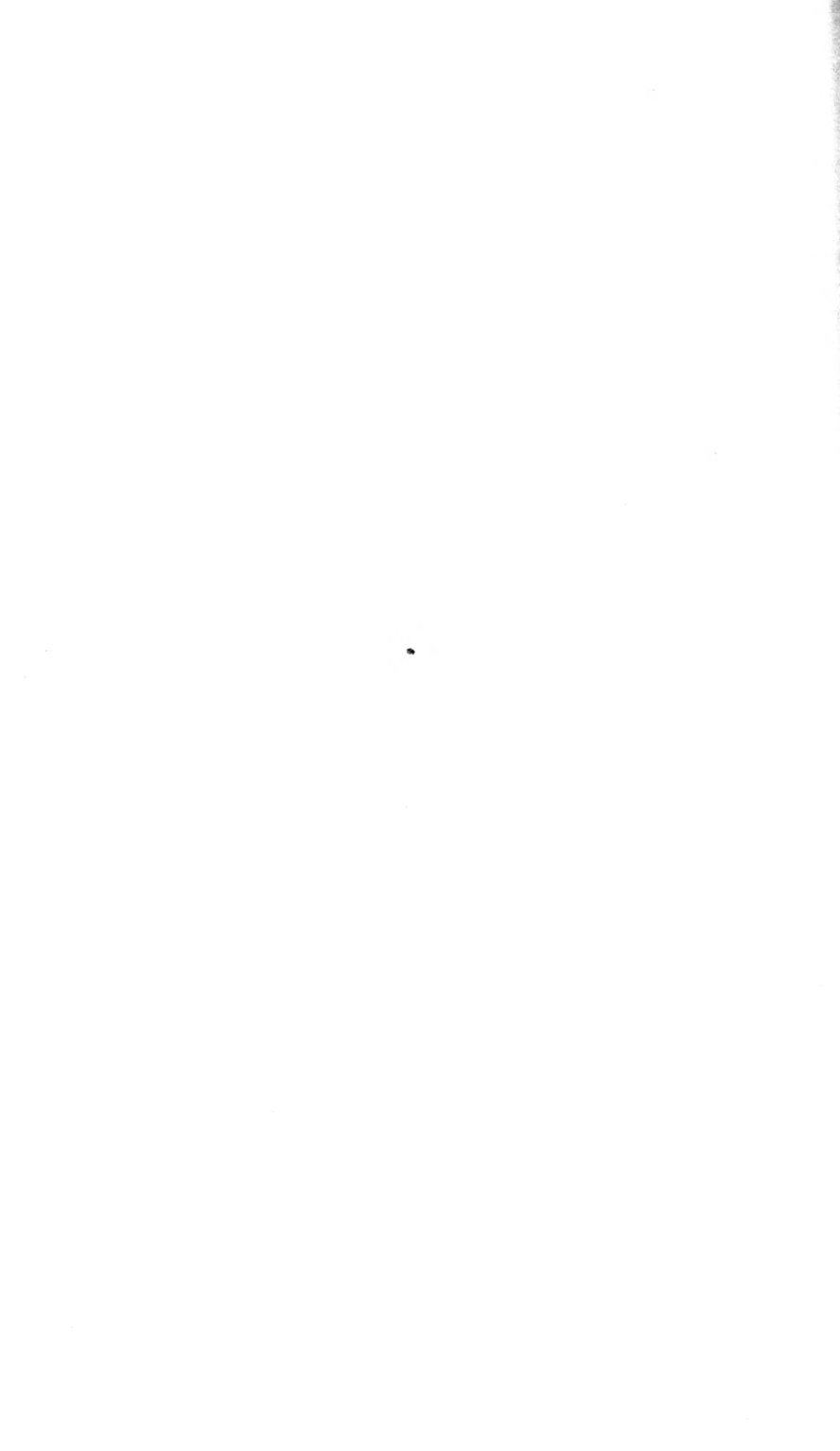
In Wayne University a number of women have made and are still making significant contributions. Among the full professors there are nine women. Two departments in the College of Liberal Arts and six departments or fields of teaching curriculum in the College of Education are headed by women. One of the colleges, the College of Nursing, is headed by a woman whose vision and persistence developed a department into a college that has one of the most outstanding nurses' training programs in the country. Other women, not in executive positions, have contributed, many through distinguished teaching and some through scholarly research.

A woman who might almost be said to have been one of the founders of the College of Liberal Arts was Ethel Winifred B.



SOME FAUNA

The summer after her graduation, Mabel continued her college research work by collecting specimens of Fauna



Chase, who attained prominence as one of three leading women botanists of the country. Her knowledge, combined with her organizing ability, made her invaluable in shaping the science courses and degree requirements for Detroit Junior College which was developed between 1915 and 1923. Her sound common sense and her warm interest in the women students made her the first choice as adviser to women, and in this capacity she established a student council, organized student activities, and promoted student scholarship loans. All of this she did in addition to her full teaching load. Outside the college, she led YWCA field trips for nature study, gave counsel to garden clubs, lectured often to local groups on bird life and landscape gardening, and continued her own extensive nature collections. In whatever she did she passed on to her students, friends, and acquaintances something of her own serenity and sincerity.

Another of the early faculty members was Grace Hill, head for many years of the French Department. Her standards for teaching and learning were very high, and she was a pioneer in the Middle West in the use of the spoken language in the classroom. For her interest in France and the French people, she was several times honored by the French government. In 1936 she received the cross of the *Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur*.

Others too were well known. Emelyn Gardner began and developed the folklore work of the English Department. Having published a book on the folklore of her own native county in New York state, she saw the value of collecting similar material from the many foreign groups in Detroit. Dr. Edith Hale Swift came to the University as a pioneer in sex education. She was a member of the Public Health Education Committee of the American Medical Association and gave through the schools valuable understanding of social hygiene.

In a university that began only thirty-six years ago, many of the women worthy of mention are still teaching. One of these, a professor of educational and social psychology was honored in June, 1953 with the Faculty Service Award, presented by the alumni to the faculty member "whose professional or civic efforts have brought about a greater appreciation of the place of Wayne University in the community." For twenty-five years she has added greatly in Detroit and in Michigan to the understanding of child psychology. Another woman professor in the same field

is in demand by business firms and private schools because of her experience in psychological testing. She is an authority on administering and interpreting the Rorschach tests.

In business administration a woman professor is called often from coast to coast as lecturer and consultant to direct company training programs in business communications. She has published in the field and is editorial consultant in it and in office management to one of the large publishing houses. Two years ago she was elected the second woman president of the American Business Writing Association, a national group of men and women. In the field of science, a women professor has built up a reputation for her courses in photography, and has recently published a text in the field, despite the fact that publishers usually shy away from science texts authored by women. Another woman, in the English Department, has completed the arduous research for the definitive biography of Detroit's Father Gabriel Richard, which will soon be published. Still another has won recognition in the field of folklore. So rich is her background in biblical literature that she has been asked several times to preach the sermon at St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral.

In the Home Economics Department, the woman who heads its many activities has organized many projects of community interest. One of the recent ones was organizing courses for housewives suffering from heart ailments. In these courses, planned under medical supervision, the women learn how to eliminate unnecessary motions in doing their housework. In the late summer of 1953, after the Flint tornado had crippled many women, she set up a course for disabled housewives, showing how work could be done at a minimum of effort, from a wheel chair if necessary.

Detroit has a wide reputation for the work the public schools do in special education. There are in every city children who because of mental or emotional handicaps cannot fit into the regular school curriculum. The distinction that Detroit has won from the special instruction developed for these children has come in large part from the work of outstanding women. Elizabeth Cleveland was a power behind the Girls' Continuation School, a unique experiment designed to continue the education of the many girls who left school early to go to work, possibly because they could not fit into the regular routine. The law required that these girls over fourteen must have finished the

sixth grade, but many of them left school without getting beyond the fifth grade. Through the cooperation of their employers, some of whom were willing to give them time for further training, and with help of members of the Child Welfare Committee of the Twentieth Century Club, who collected information on the various occupations and did some follow up work, many of these girls were brought back to school for half a day once a week for classes in English, arithmetic, salesmanship, hygiene, and later, dressmaking. They were also offered guidance and vocational counselling, which, it was felt, often saved them from delinquency.

Another woman important in this field was Cleo Murtland. Miss Murtland was the first woman in the Department of Vocational Training at the University of Michigan, and served many years in Detroit building up the curriculum and training teachers to teach the vocational work. Her vision, her practical sense, and her interest in the individual lay back of the rapid growth of the movement in Detroit for vocational training in the schools. She also helped develop educational programs for factory schools.

Detroit was one of the first school systems in the country to develop classes for physically handicapped children. In these classes the patience and the sympathy of the teachers, usually women, have helped immeasurably to bring these children back into the normal world from which their handicap would tend to exclude them. The work for the deaf was begun by Elizabeth Van Adestine in 1900 and developed by Dr. Gertrude Van Adestine, who was made principal of Michigan's first school for the deaf in 1906 and under whom the city's program gained national recognition. Miss Van Adestine was one of the directors of the American Association to Promote Teaching Speech to the Deaf and was herself an authority on the teaching of lip reading. For nearly forty years she gave herself to this work, first as principal of the School for the Deaf, and later as supervising principal for all schools for the deaf and director of teacher training work in this field. She was followed as principal by Sophia Alcorn, who originated the Tadoma tactile-sense method of teaching the deaf, a vibration system.

The first two classes for stammerers in public schools in the United States were organized in 1910 in Detroit, one of these by Clara Stoddard. Miss Stoddard had trained in the Thomas

Normal Training School to be a singer, but after she entered the school system in 1889 she found her knowledge of voice useful in helping those with speech defects. She took special training for work with stammerers and long after she had started her classes continued her own study and training at different universities under outstanding educators in speech correction. Her published textbooks, widely used in this country and in Canada, were the first speech correction texts published for school use. Authorities in the field of speech rehabilitation referred to her as "the mother of speech correction in America." During her fifty years of teaching and supervising she helped thousands of stammerers to control their stammering. When she retired in 1939, she was immediately called by Purdue University to give a summer course of lectures in this field.

The first course for the blind came a little later when in 1912 Fannie Fletcher began work with a small group of blind children to show that with opportunity and equipment these children could do many things that children with normal vision do. Soon she extended her work to children with defective vision, and she urged the services of eye specialists who would outline the type of work the children might do. Today in Braille classes hundreds of children are getting an education and the confidence to let their fingers and their ears do for them what their eyes cannot.

The work for the mentally handicapped children developed largely under Anna Engel, who began teaching retarded children in 1905. In 1914 the first special class for them was set up under her direction in the Lincoln School. Later she assisted in the training of teachers for special classes at the Detroit Teachers College. In 1937 she was appointed assistant director of Special Education.

The woman who above all the others organized the Department of Special Education was Alice B. Metzner. She was especially interested in the procedures of diagnosis for the handicapped children, and in 1911 organized the Psychological Clinic of the Board of Education, where a full testing program for groups and individuals is now carried on. As the different classes for handicapped children were organized, she saw the value of combining them into a department. Under her guidance special education grew from a few classes to a department of eighteen thousand children and a staff of over five hundred. She prompted the addition to the curriculum of occupational information and

vocational guidance, knowing that the school must assume responsibility for the handicapped. Another idea of hers was a summer camp for problem boys. There were no funds, but she borrowed a cottage, used blankets, equipment, and supplies from the school, and ran the camp. Today the Board of Education continues to care for these boys, who, if left in the city without supervision during the summer, might be in constant trouble. When Miss Metzner retired in 1945, Miss Engel took over the directorship of the department.

Today, in schools for the crippled, the deaf, the tubercular, the epileptics, the maladjusted, and the mentally retarded, women with a special sense of dedication to their work labor with infinite patience to make effective education possible for handicapped children. That so many of these go out from the schools equipped to earn a living and lead fairly normal lives is evidence that these women have done their work well.

Fewer women than men hold policy making positions in the school system, but the influence of women has not been entirely lacking in the shaping of plans and policies. As the school system developed, deputy and assistant superintendents relieved the superintendent of part of his load. The first of these was a woman, Mathilda E. Coffin, appointed supervisor of the grades in 1892 and given the work of examining teachers. From 1895-96 she was listed as assistant superintendent. Miss Coffin believed in learning through doing and introduced practical problems instead of the traditional three R's. She recommended the use of newspapers in the classes and even got the *Detroit Evening News* to offer to put out a special class room edition. The traditionalists, of course, saw to it that the offer was not accepted. When Miss Coffin left in 1897 to be married, no woman was appointed to the position again until Catherine Morgan, who for years had carried the full load of a department, was given the title of assistant superintendent in 1945. When she retired, another woman was appointed, establishing more firmly the precedent that at least one of the assistant superintendents should be a woman. These women have brought to the office a mastery of detail and a clear insight into the many problems that beset them. They have brought, also, a woman's point of view that occasionally throws new light on matters under discussion.

Other women have contributed in other ways. It was a woman

who, working with Dr. Spain, developed and headed the platoon system in 1918, which allowed fuller use of the school building and which by moving the classes to different teachers utilized to the highest degree the special talents and interests of the teachers. In the further development of the Children's Museum, one of the few in the country under a public school system, a woman has done such outstanding work that she was asked to serve as first chairman of the International Commission on Children's Museums in Unesco.

Interest in community affairs, even in state and national affairs, has been very evident in many of Detroit's civic minded women teachers, and many women have given time to important committee work in civic organizations. Two women have set up teacher training programs and workshops in Germany. Others are working with UN or Unesco organizations in this country, spending many hours outside their teaching day to promote the ideas of these groups. Two have gone as delegates to Unesco meetings in Paris and Beirut. Many teachers respond willingly when they are asked to speak for school interests or to contribute of their own specialized knowledge for the community good. It is almost a slogan—if you want a thing well done, ask a teacher to do it.

In the interests of the profession, building up retirement funds, health insurance, more nearly adequate salaries, and security of tenure, many women have worked tirelessly, both as individuals and through professional organizations. This work has been for the profession as a whole, for almost never would individual gain compensate for the time and effort expended. The results of this work have attracted superior teachers to the Detroit school system. Of late, more men than formerly have entered the teaching profession. This interest is good for the profession, for the vision of both men and women is helpful in every group, but in all fairness it may be suggested that part of this growing interest is due to the prestige and security the profession has acquired under women.

In private schools women, too, have served Detroit. Among the women teachers of the early private schools, the Misses Farland, who conducted the Young Ladies Seminary in the 1830's, were spoken of with especial esteem. Around the middle of the century Elizabeth Bryant, cousin of the poet Bryant, Sarah Hunt,

and Maria Rockwell were conducting successful "select" schools for girls. These are only a few of many fine women who labored to shape the mind and manners of Detroit's young ladies.

Probably the private school that has meant most to Detroit women through the years is the one opened by the Liggett family on Miami Avenue (Broadway) in 1878 as the Detroit Home and Day School, but later known as the Liggett School.* Miss Ella Liggett, who for nearly forty years was the force and inspiration of the school, was an eager teacher and an excellent administrator, with a progressive spirit that welcomed new ideas. She opened a kindergarten in 1886, and in 1892 the first school gymnasium in Detroit, and it was she who gave young Stuart Courtis the chance to try out his experiments in the tests and measurements now so widely used. Her recognition of the individual differences in children and her adjustment of the work to the individual child was in line with the best educational thought of the century and far ahead of the formal adoption of progressive methods in most schools. To the young women whom she trained she gave strength of purpose and high ideals of service. No leisurely finishing school was her college preparatory department. A Vassar graduate of the early days, Miss Liggett insisted on rigorous academic training, rightly earning the commendation of her college for the well trained students she sent there. She believed in the idea of *noblesse oblige* and inculcated in her girls, most of them from wealthy homes, the idea that they owed service to the community. Many of the women back of the principal cultural and philanthropic movements of the city have been Liggett graduates. Miss Liggett died in 1921, and her sister Jeanette, for years an able assistant, in 1945, but their influence persists. As the alumnae have said on a memorial plaque:

[their] effluence cannot die
As long as fire outlives the parent spark.

On the west side of the city a similar school was opened in 1906 by Miss Mary Newman. Miss Newman no longer lives, but until 1953 the Newman School worthily continued the high standards established by its founder.

* In 1884 the new school building on Cass and Stimson was opened, and in 1913 the elementary school was moved to new quarters on Burns Avenue. In 1924, the senior school was also moved to Burns Avenue.

Another fine piece of teaching in Detroit is that being done by the sisters in the Catholic schools. Since 1833 there have been sisterhoods in Detroit, whose faithful teaching has influenced the lives of thousands of children. The first to come were the Sisters of Ste Clare, the Poor Clares, as they were often called. They came to Detroit in 1833 and opened a school on Larned and Randolph that soon became the fashionable school for young ladies in Detroit. Here the sisters taught "all the attainments which are necessary in society." When young Governor Stevens Mason wanted his sisters Catherine and Emily to come back to Detroit from Troy, New York, where they were attending Emma Willard's Seminary, he wrote them that they would find the school of the Poor Clares "second to none west of Troy." Emily Mason and her sister came back and enrolled, along with many daughters of Detroit's best families. Most of the school's hundred day and boarding students were Protestant.

In addition to this select school the sisters had a free English and German school for the boys and girls of the neighborhood, where they gathered an average attendance of forty-five pupils. Although both schools were very successful, the Poor Clares left Detroit in 1839, possibly because of some difference of opinion with the bishop.

The next group of nuns to reach Detroit were the Sisters of Charity who came in 1844. They, too, opened a select school for girls and two schools for the poor children, one for boys under ten and one for little girls.

In 1851 the religious of the Sacred Heart accepted the offer of Monique Labadie Beaubien to open a school and an orphanage in Detroit in return for the Beaubien residence property on Jefferson Avenue. This gift was the last of Monique Labadie's many contributions to the cause of education in Detroit. Today the sisters run two schools, the Sacred Heart Convent in Grosse Pointe and the Academy on Lawrence Avenue.

In parochial schools of the city, sisters of many orders give willing service. The largest teaching group in the city is the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary who have nearly a thousand sisters teaching sixteen thousand children in twenty-seven elementary and high schools. The Felician nuns in the Polish section and the Sisters of Mercy have other schools. The women of these and other orders give the children under them

secular instruction and religious training as well.

The Lutherans also see advantage in church schools and many fine women teach in their schools, but the general management of the Lutheran schools is in the hands of the men at the head of the church.

Among the institutions of higher education in Detroit are three that were organized and are now run by women. Two of these are Catholic colleges for women, Marygrove and Mercy colleges. Marygrove College was established in 1927 by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Under the direction of the forceful and brilliant woman who has been its president since 1937, the students receive from the sisters and the lay faculty the intellectual training demanded by the high standards of the Association of American Universities. Aside from this, the college makes contribution in its deliberate attempt to build up community consciousness in its students, particularly from the angle of the responsibility of women in all phases of civic activity and social welfare.

Mercy College, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, was opened as a degree-conferring institution in 1941. Here, too, women receive an education based on the principles of Catholic philosophy as well as sound pre-professional training. Through its affiliation with Mount Carmel Mercy Hospital, run by the same sisterhood, the college offers unusual opportunities for preparation in nursing and in medical radiological technology. An able woman is president of the college and director of the hospitals and schools under the sisterhood.

The third, the gift of a Detroit woman, is the Merrill-Palmer School, unique in purpose and function and known the world over. When Elizabeth Merrill Palmer, widow of Senator Thomas W. Palmer, died in 1918, she left a fortune of \$3,000,000 for a "school of mothercraft," where, according to her will

. . . girls above the age of ten years should be educated, trained, developed, and disciplined with special reference to fitting them mentally, morally, physically and religiously for the discharge of the functions of wifehood and motherhood, and the management, supervision, direction and inspiration of the home.

No one knew exactly what Mrs. Palmer had in mind, but the

judge who probated the will chose as trustees of the fund three men, two of them childless, whom he evidently thought capable of deciding. Thereupon some women in the city protested so loudly that the three gentlemen politely agreed that women's help would be useful in this decision and appointed a board of five women directors to plan the program of the school. These were Georgia Emery, first chairman, Katherine Smith Diack (Mrs. Archibald), Gertrude Sutherland Safford (Mrs. Homer), Dr. Mary Haskins, and Mrs. Martha Ray. There was demand in some circles for a home for delinquent girls, but the Board decided to find out what educators would recommend. They literally traveled east and west to discover this, and finally found the best suggestion in Ohio, where a woman who was head of the Home Economics Department of the state university and who had achieved wide renown in that field during the first world war told them that one of the great gaps in her field was an inadequacy of means available to study small children and family life. The Board then decided that Mrs. Palmer's millions might best be used to remedy this weakness by providing some way of studying the field.

Dr. Edna Noble White, who had made the suggestion, was persuaded to come to Detroit, where she was entrusted with the challenging task of setting up an absolutely new kind of school. Fortunately, a saving clause in Mrs. Palmer's will allowed the school to develop according to the judgment and wisdom of those upon whom the administration should devolve. She went to England and the Scandinavian countries to study their development of nursery schools and came back to open the Merrill-Palmer School in January, 1922, as a nursery school in which the principal objective was the training of students by study and observation in all aspects of child care and development. In spite of openly expressed doubts as to the value of the venture, mothers eagerly enrolled their children, and students from Michigan State College arrived, ready to embark on a program that so far existed only on paper. In the newly acquired house on East Ferry (near Woodward), twenty or thirty little children learned to wash their own hands, eat their spinach, cover themselves with a blanket at nap time, and join other children in play. It was a social experiment for them and also for the mothers, who learned with a shock that their children always behaved worst on Mon-

days, after two days at home. The students observed, took notes and made tests, and built up a wealth of material in child study.

For over twenty years Dr. White and her associates, all women in those early years, built up the school, taking advantage of new ideas and experiments, and keeping abreast of all other research in child study and parent education. Coming at a time when serious study of child psychology was just developing, the school won great prestige as the first and foremost of its kind in the country. Students from all over the world have come to Detroit to supplement their college work with the training offered at Merrill-Palmer and available nowhere else. Most of the early nursery school workers were trained here, and Merrill-Palmer students have gone out everywhere to teach and continue their research. Recently there has been a shift in emphasis from the study of the child as an individual to family life and marriage counselling, partly because families whose children were originally enrolled kept coming back as the children grew older for further help with the problems of family living.

Mrs. Palmer founded better than she knew. Out of her personal sense of the inadequacy of woman's training for motherhood and Dr. White's vision and ability grew a school that still continues to keep abreast of psychological developments and varies its program to meet human wants and community needs.

One of the outstanding examples of the school's ready cooperation and adaptability in meeting these needs was the development in 1933 of the College Women's Volunteer Service. The closing of the banks in 1933 and the subsequent depression forced most of the social agencies to make drastic cuts in staff just when needs for their services were increasing daily. The Visiting Housekeeper Association had to cut its workers from sixteen to three. The committee formed to recruit volunteer help in this emergency turned to the Merrill-Palmer School for advice. It was ready. Some of the staff had just completed a study of the results of college education for women, planned with a view toward curriculum adjustment in the colleges. One of the facts established locally was that college women who had married and given up professional jobs wanted to meet other college women and to find opportunities to use their particular skills and training in some worthwhile way. The timing was perfect. The director of the School added a social worker to the staff whose respon-

sibility it became to channel college women into services where they were needed. Thus was born the College Women's Volunteer Service, which in the twenty years of its life has provided countless hours of volunteer service to many social agencies. In the year 1952-3 women in this group gave over thirty-one thousand hours of volunteer work. They make toys in their own workshop, they work with the Travellers' Aid, they work with the Red Cross in blood banks, as nurses' aids and as Gray Ladies. They transcribe Braille material, help with recreation programs at the YWCA and serve as leaders in Scouting and Campfire groups. They visit the aged, chauffeur the handicapped on necessary trips, act as tutors and hostesses at the International Institute, and give craft instruction at the different settlement houses. Until 1949 Merrill-Palmer furnished a paid director, but as the organization outgrew infancy it assumed more responsibility and now relies on the School only for office space and valuable advice. Its work, done without fanfare, is another example of what women of the so-called "privileged class" will do in the belief that this very privilege makes them debtors to society.

The value of child study, so fully recognized by all Merrill-Palmer associates, and the need of a close relationship between parents and teachers have been recognized also by the Parent-Teacher groups. The now widespread work of the Parent-Teacher Association began for Detroit in 1893 when Harriet Marsh, principal of Hancock School, called on the neighborhood mothers to help in an emergency outbreak of diphtheria. So helpful and pleasant was the association for the mothers and the school that the Hancock Mothers Club was formed, one of the first groups of its kind in the city. It still continues. So unusual was this group that it attracted favorable comment from G. Stanley Hall, the great child psychologist.

Similar groups developed around other schools to study the needs and to help solve the problems. By 1918 the large number of such groups over the country led to the organization of the National Congress for Parents and Teachers. Detroit women are never far behind national movements, and that year Mrs. Earl Carr organized a Detroit Branch of P.T.A. Today, over a hundred groups in the Detroit P.T.A. Council and many Mothers' Clubs do much to quicken the realization among parents that the successful relationship of the child with his family and his

school is the result of careful thought in the home as well as in the school. One of the great contributions of the P.T.A. has been a widespread adult education program that has led to a better understanding of the child and to a closer relationship between the school and the community.

Education still faces hostile forces and needs the intelligent help of the community. This help the members of the P.T.A. give and try to enlist from others. During the depression of the '30's the women worked valiantly, urging the Legislature to give increased funds for the schools. In the millage campaigns of 1950 and 1953 women made door to door calls to explain the needs and to urge the public to vote for increased taxes. One of the desirable features of the P.T.A. is that fathers as well as mothers belong. This sharing of responsibility is healthy for the family. But the men are the first to agree that much of the planning and execution of the work is carried on by the women, partly because they are closer to children's needs and partly because many women have more available time.

Close to the school in educational service is the library. It was so from the beginning in Detroit, for the legislative enactment that provided for Detroit's first city school tax provided also for its first public library. The library was first opened in a small room in the old Capitol Building, but not until the old down town library opened in 1877 were the first women assistants engaged: Julie Pattison and Mrs. Matie Patton. Since that time many women have served Detroit in this field of public education, encouraging reading habits in children, finding the "right" books for adults who need help, serving as living encyclopedias for lag-gard students, and as research assistants in many fields. Some have been outstanding in their contribution to the increased effectiveness of library services. Sarah Ann Cochrane served as head of the Cataloguing Department for over twenty years, and when she died she left her entire estate of \$150, saved from years of service at meager pay, to buy for the library "the best books on the technical work of cataloguing."

Mary Conover started the Children's Library, although she always gave credit for the idea to Mrs. John Bagley. Miss Conover was an authority on children's books, and some Detroiters still remember walking miles across the city to receive from her hands an exciting Henty book or one of the popular *Alma* series

written by a Detroit woman. When Mrs. Frederic Stevens and her husband gave funds for a library for sick children in memory of their little son, Miss Conover organized the collection on such a fine basis that the Hoyt Henshaw Stevens Collection still brings happiness every week to scores of shut-in children.

As branch libraries were needed, Jessie Chase, who came to the library in 1893 and served forty years, directed their organization. Lucy Morgan also served the city for over forty years, first in the training section and after that as director of personnel. Mr. Ulveling, Director of the libraries, said recently of her work: "Before she came, librarians were merely keepers of books. . . . Her success in formulating work standards and job classifications and developing better salary conditions . . . won her a national reputation." Several women serve as the directors of the five special fields, and women head most of the departments in the Main Library, many of the branch libraries, and the Municipal Reference Library. For many years Grace England was chief librarian of the Down Town Library.

On the third floor of the Main Library is the Burton Historical Collection, a monument to the industry and generosity of one of Detroit's great men. This collection is headed by a woman, and a woman's work has made possible the fullest use of the Collection. From 1919 until her retirement in 1941 Gracie Krum gave her eyes and mind to the work of organizing the historical records into usable instruments for writers and students and laid the foundation for the expansion of the Collection. History was Miss Krum's deep interest throughout her life, and in her work in the Burton Collection and with the Detroit Historical Society she did much to develop in Detroit a consciousness of local history.

So well has the city supported the public library system, that women have not had to work for libraries, as they have in many smaller places. Women did, however, save the Down Town Library from extinction. When the new library on Woodward was opened in 1922, the city proposed to tear down the old building back of J. L. Hudson's and sell or rent the site for an office building. Thanks to the petitions circulated by a number of women organized by Dr. Gertrude Banks and Cora de Puy this plan was given up and a new building was erected for a down town library.

In offering adult education, the Parent-Teacher groups are in

line with the twentieth century awareness that education should be a continuing process. So active have women's organizations been in making possible this continuing education that James Truslow Adams gives them credit for the very inception of the idea: "The real beginning of the idea of Adult Education must be credited to the women who got hold, almost unconsciously, of the idea that Adult Education ought to be more than vocational . . . in their clubs." This has been true in Detroit, where broadly speaking, education has been the core of the programs of many women's clubs.

Interest in education beyond the school level appeared early. As women fought for higher learning, they fought also against the prudishness or ignorance that prohibited physical training or sex education for girls. Even before the era of women's clubs, a Miss Jones was highly praised for her private course in "physiological lectures," which gave Detroit women "a most fortunate opportunity for gaining knowledge so much needed." What the opposition was is clear as one reads of the meeting of the Collegiate Alumnae in the 1890's at which Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens and Maria Dickinson McGraw (Mrs. Thomas) presented papers on the physical and social needs for a women's gymnasium at the University of Michigan. As contributions were asked for, one of the male doctors of the city interrupted the meeting:

As a physician who knows the physiology of the female, I must protest such an outrageous proposal. It is shocking that identical educational courses for the two sexes are taught in our state University, but physical education for females is a crime against God and humanity.

The ladies, it may be said, ignored the interruption except to note it in their records.

During the last fifty years women's clubs in Detroit have offered rich educational fare in lecture programs and study groups. Study of child psychology began in 1918 when the Twentieth Century Club brought Eduard Lindemann to lecture, and the American Association of University Women soon afterward organized a study group. Since then, the study of the child and all phases of family life has been widespread. One AAUW group devoted two years to gathering data for a national study on the

family. Almost as important has been the study of international affairs. With the end of the first world war, the Twentieth Century Club instituted a series of lectures by Katherine Locke on the causes and progress of war, opening them to the general public. Other groups, notably the AAUW and the Women's International Education Council, organized study groups and offered lectures. Legislation, the status of women, and consumer problems have been seriously studied in many groups, while the study of music, literature and art have delighted the less academic students. For those willing to receive information but not interested in digging it out, the galaxy of fine lecturers brought to Detroit by the club programs is stimulating. Recently the Women's City Club as well as other groups has offered courses in finance and investment to prepare women for the period of widowhood, which life insurance prognostications allot to most of them.

The educational program is not for club members only. Women plan and teach classes for foreigners in English, citizenship, and nutrition. During the Depression one woman organized a whole program of courses in an old building on Jefferson near Russell, persuading teachers to give their services. After the second world war one group sponsored a brides' course to help the foreign G.I. brides get used to America. More recently a woman has organized a class for a group of intellectual D.P.'s who need to understand the American way of thought.

For those desiring higher education but lacking the funds, women's clubs give annually many thousands of dollars in scholarship funds. Alumnae of women's colleges, women's auxiliary groups—the wives of Masons, doctors, Odd Fellows and engineers—business and professional women's groups, and countless other organizations offer scholarships of various kinds and amounts. One of the strongest scholarship programs is that of AAUW, which gives funds for graduate women of marked ability in this country and also offers grants to bring foreign women students to this country for graduate study.

True educators, said Lord Bacon, are

Merchants of light, who maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels; not for silks; not for spices; nor for any commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature which was Light: to have light of the growth of all parts of the world.

Some of those who shop prefer jewels and silk to light. Distances, a multiplicity of interests, physical limitations, and a lack of intellectual curiosity often combine to turn the eyes of men and women from the light so freely offered them; but many turn eagerly toward it. For these many the Detroit women who wherever they find darkness—in schools, libraries, hospitals, or clubs—try to dispel it are truly merchants of light.

CHAPTER 4

For the Sick

BRING OUT YOUR DEAD"—"Bring out your dead" came the terrible cry on the streets, and the bells of Ste Anne's, tolling for the deaths that outran the doctor's care, struck fear into the hearts of all. It was the cholera, taking young and old, rich and poor, until hundreds of Detroiters had been hastily interred in mass burials. Father Richard, priest of Ste Anne's, who had urged in vain the erection of a hospital, gave the last rites to many of his parishioners, but succumbed himself before the plague had ended.

There had always been need for women's nursing in the settlement on the straits, where small pox, malaria and scarlet fever were prevalent, but aside from Cadillac and Father Richard, few if any had seen the need for a hospital. Even after the cholera epidemic of 1832 found the town utterly unprepared, nothing was done to provide hospital facilities.

Two years later the cholera returned, again to decimate the population. In August, 1834, the women of the Catholic Female Benevolent Association, whose philanthropic efforts already included the indigent, the orphans, and the Poor House, decided they must find a house where they could care for the sick. Not much is known of this first improvised hospital, but from the Association records, it is clear that they did take a house where they installed a woman to look after patients. With budding knowledge of germs, the women voted that after the epidemic everything should be washed a second time to have it "as clean and nice as possible." For further space, Father Kundig turned Holy Trinity Church into a makeshift hospital, removing some

pews and hanging sheets to separate the women and the men. Here a valiant group of young girls, drawn from such families as the Desnoyers, Dequindres, Campaus, Morans, and Beaubiens, many of them members of the Benevolent Association, worked with him in the midst of disease and misery, healing when they could and making more comfortable the last hours of the dying.

The horror of the two epidemics should have stirred the city to the need for a hospital, but it did not. When Father Kundig suggested using some of the money the Benevolent Association had raised in their first fair to build a hospital, obstructionists asked where in the crowded town one could find room for a hospital. The city reimbursed the women of the Association for their expenditures, and then apparently felt their responsibility for community health had ended. Caught up in the giddy spirals of land speculation and then as suddenly dropped to hard bottom in the financial panic of 1837, Detroit gave little thought to the community needs for schools or hospitals. Just as it was groups of women who first opened an orphanage and introduced free schooling, so it was women who established Detroit's first hospital.

The women responsible for this hospital came to the city to establish a school. Realizing the need of schools for the orphans of the cholera and as well as for other children, Father Kundig had begged Bishop Le Fevere to send him teachers. In answer to this plea, four Sisters of Charity came to Detroit in 1844, Sister Rebecca, Sister Loyola, Sister Felicia, and Sister Rosaline. It was fitting that the nuns should provide Detroit's first hospital. Mediaeval convents were the first hospitals in Europe, and many an able abbess trained her nuns in the arts of healing and ran a hospital with great efficiency. The sisters were quicker than Detroit citizens to see the need of a building where the sick could be cared for, and soon after they had opened their school, they asked permission to turn one of their small buildings into a hospital, which they called St. Vincent's. There were twelve beds, six on the upper floor for women, and six on the lower for men. Two of the sisters nursed the patients, while the other two carried on the school, using their spare minutes to solicit donations for the hospital. "We must take care of all" was their motto, and so they admitted all charity cases, a few private cases, and even provided isolated care for those with contagious diseases.

Soon the need for a larger building was apparent. Monique

Labadie Beaubien, who had given so generously to education, gave land on Clinton Street for a new building, and the whole community, Catholic and Protestant, responded to the drive for funds for a new hospital. In 1849, before the building was finished, the third cholera epidemic broke out, and before the disease spent itself, nearly a thousand had died, including Sister Loyola, who up to the day before her death had nursed cholera victims.

The new hospital, completed in 1850 and named St. Mary's, was for over a decade Detroit's only hospital. The original building on Larned was moved next to St. Mary's and used for contagious diseases.

So excellent was the nursing of the sisters that a newspaperman expressed the general feeling of the city when he wrote in 1855:

We have visited many of the public hospitals and asylums of our own and other countries. We have seen them richly endowed, dispensing charity in splendid edifices through well paid servants, but of all the institutions of charity commend us to those where willing female hands minister to care and disease under an impulse of religious duty, and without the hope or desire of temporal reward. Medical aid can be selected by the patient from the whole faculty of the city, but the Sisters have secured for daily attendance one of the most scientific and experienced physicians, Dr. Henry Lemcke, whose services, we may add, while gratuitous are constant and faithful.

To care for ambulatory patients the sisters opened St. Mary's Free Clinic, the oldest in Michigan to be supported by donations and the second oldest in the country. The Clinton Street building was enlarged several times until in 1916 the original part was one small wing of a large and modern hospital that had been made possible by generous donors, among them Mrs. Elizabeth Watson, Mrs. George Hammond, Mrs. E. A. Chapoton and Mrs. Josephine Bailey. For over a hundred years, until 1949, the Sisters of Charity carried on this hospital.

As early as 1853, the hospital admitted mentally ill patients, since there was no other provision in Detroit for the insane unless one included the prison and the Poor House. Their presence,

however, proved so disturbing that Sister de Sales Tyler, the efficient Mother Superior of St. Mary's from 1852-1870, moved them to a small frame house on a farm she had purchased outside the city limits on Michigan and Twenty-fourth streets to supply the hospital with vegetables, milk and eggs. At first the Sisters had no thought of establishing an asylum, but as neither the city nor state took any action, they built and opened, in August, 1859, the Michigan State Retreat for the Insane. This asylum was open to all who needed it. Here began woman's first public nursing of the insane in Michigan. During the Civil War, when the government requested the Sisters to care for wounded soldiers, the Sisters erected another building for them. With the money paid by the government for this care and further donations, the care of the insane was in 1886 moved to a handsome building in Dearborn and the name of the institution changed to St. Joseph's Retreat.

For most women, superintending St. Mary's and the Michigan Retreat would have been a full time assignment, but not for Sister de Sales. Seeing the great need of shelter for "destitute and unfortunate young women and abandoned infants," she asked permission to start another charity. In 1869, in a small building on Adams near Clifford, two sisters opened the House of Providence, beginning their work with two mothers and four infants. Here and later, in a five room house on Fourteenth Street opposite St. Vincent's Church near Dalzelle Street, the sisters worked, "scrimping, and pinching, and praying to make refractory ends meet." In 1872, with one thousand dollars given by the city the Sisters bought two lots on Elizabeth and St. Antoine streets and there carried on their work for over thirty years. They accepted women of all creeds, but no unmarried mother was ever received a second time. As with the growth of the city the location of the home became undesirable, and the expanding charity of the Sisters taxed its capacity, the Sisters decided to erect a building that would be a home and a hospital. Benefactors presented a block of land facing Grand Boulevard at Fourteenth, and a city wide campaign headed by ex-Mayor Maybury was launched to raise funds for a new building. Generous response made possible the new House of Providence. When this was opened in 1909, it was intended as a maternity hospital only, but the need for more hospital beds in the city led the Sisters to

make it a general hospital, Providence Hospital, and to continue the original work for unmarried mothers and children in one wing, now known as Marillac Villa.

The development of St. Mary's, St. Joseph's Retreat and Providence Hospital grew far beyond the plans of the Sisters, and support for these institutions now comes from many sources, public and private. Not to be forgotten, however, are the founders of these institutions, competent and self-sacrificing, who labored not for profit, but for love, and who saw no dividing line of race or creed.

Late in the 1850's it became clear that another general hospital was needed. The two people who contributed most to the founding of Harper Hospital, Detroit's second hospital, were Walter Harper and Mrs. Ann Martin, who had come with him from Philadelphia in 1832 as his housekeeper. Nancy Martin was a familiar figure to many Detroit women, for she kept a stall in the public market, where her fresh vegetables and choice game were always in demand. She was a woman of little education, with a coarse and ready tongue, but with a heart generous in its response to need. It is said that Isabella Duffield Stewart, daughter of the minister* Nancy greatly admired, first presented to her the city's need for a hospital. With a quick burst of generosity Nancy said she would give the fifteen acres of land in which she had invested all her money for the hospital. Since the land was then worth about \$12,000 the gift was a considerable one. For herself she asked only that a cottage be built for her and Mr. Harper and that she receive a small annuity. The two conditions she made for the hospital were that it be built on her land and that it provide the medical care offered in a lying-in hospital, a condition probably made in memory of her baby who had died under tragic circumstances. Because of this death, Nancy had come to Detroit desperate and bitter, but through the years she had been able to push the bitterness from her heart and was now ready to let the love for that child dictate a gift that would help provide nursing for other mothers and children. The name of Mr. Harper, whose gift of land largely financed the building, was given to the hospital, and that of Nancy to the street leading to it, Martin Place, but Nancy's picture in one of

* The Rev. George Duffield, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

the halls serves to remind Detroiters that the hospital is also a memorial to this generous hearted woman of the market place who gave the savings of a lifetime to help found a city hospital.

Few hospitals are so much the work of women as is Woman's Hospital, founded by women for women and run by an able board of women. In 1868 seven members of the Ladies Christian Union made a courageous decision. Moved with sympathy for the plight of the working girl whose loneliness and susceptibility had given her a baby but no wedding ring, the women decided to do something for these "fallen women" and their "unwanted" babies. Organizing as an association for a woman's hospital and foundlings' home, with Mrs. L. H. Page, president, Mrs. H. R. Andrews, treasurer, and Mrs. Geo. M. Lane, secretary, within a month they had rented a five room tenement on Cass and Montcalm where they could take care of indigent sick women and where unmarried mothers might have their babies and leave them for adoption or for temporary care. Dr. Eleanor M. Howe, first of many women doctors who were to serve the hospital, offered her services as a resident physician and matron without remuneration. The job was one few men doctors would have taken, for it included nursing, prescribing medicine, arranging for meals, giving out clean linen, managing household finances, and conducting daily worship. In November, 1868, the Woman's Hospital and Foundlings' Home was opened to its first patient, who soon gave birth to a daughter, the first of thirty-one babies born in the hospital that first year.

Managing the hospital was a Board of nearly one hundred women, representing most of the Protestant churches in the city and the Washington Avenue Bethel. They paid \$1.00 a year in dues but were called upon to give many times that amount in contributions and labor. They met regularly every week and beyond that often gave their services in emergencies. They organized an annual money-raising fair and Christmas ball, and solicited money and donations wherever they could, advertising, "Groceries and provisions will be thankfully received, no matter what quantity." It would have been easier, they found, to raise money for almost any other project. Everywhere they met the hostile criticism of those who felt that help given those "creatures" merely encouraged delinquency and that a "lady" would hardly admit the possibility of birth outside of wedlock, much

less talk about it. A young woman who ventured to work for the Foundlings' Home needed moral courage, for she was taking her reputation in her hands. Fortunately, there were women like Mrs. James Joy, Mrs. Richard Hawley, Mrs. Margaret J. E. Millar, Mrs. Henry Glover, and Mrs. George Lane, whose sympathy transcended their disapproval, who had the courage to ask why men should be forgiven so much and women so little. They believed in giving the erring young woman a second chance, and in making happy lives possible for the little foundlings. Their persistent courage finally won sympathy for their cause, and by 1885 Mrs. James Conklin could report that the unpopularity of the work was "a thing of the past." The Hospital had by then long outgrown the tenement. In 1869 the women had rented a house at 499 Beaubien and in 1876 had erected a hospital building on Thirteenth Street near Grand River.

The work of the Woman's Hospital and Foundling Home was centered at first in the foundlings and their mothers. Believing that economic and social pressure made it better for a girl not to keep her fatherless baby, the Board encouraged adoption. At annual adoption teas, the women on the Adoption Committee would dress up the babies to look their prettiest. After one tea in 1874, only one of the twenty-six babies presented was left unadopted. Those not adopted were cared for in the Hospital nursery.

The work of the Hospital continued to grow under a series of fine resident women physicians: Dr. Mary Forsyth, Dr. Sara Craig, Dr. Mary Smith, and Dr. Elizabeth Farrand. Soon there was demand for a new building. Meanwhile the Hospital Board had raised \$56,000 for a new building and had purchased lots on the outskirts of the city at Forest and Beaubien. Here a new red brick hospital building was erected. In this new building, opened in 1890, the women broadened the scope of their social work.

In 1891 they decided to unite with the Open Door Society, another organization formed by women to right social wrongs. This group had been organized in 1885 by Mrs. P. H. White, Mrs. Frank Farnsworth, Clara Avery, and Mrs. David Whitney to provide a temporary home for women released from the House of Correction with no home or family to receive them. To keep these women from drifting back into an evil environment, the

Society had rented a house on Park Street near Temple where the door should be open to women who wanted to make a fresh start. In 1901 Mrs. E. L. Shurly, young wife of the doctor who in 1888 became chief of staff at the Hospital, was president of the Open Door Society and vice president of the Hospital Board, and so the decision to unite forces was a natural and practical one. It proved a source of great benefit to the Hospital. The Society became the Open Door Committee of the Hospital, through which the Hospital pioneered in social work, a service unique in Detroit hospitals at that time. Attention could now be given to the needs of patients other than medical or surgical, and follow-up service provided for those that needed help. For nearly twenty years the Board members worked on the Reference Committee, checking requests for free help, and serving as aids for doctors and nurses.

In 1912 this Committee was officially designated as the Social Service Department and a trained social worker took over some of the work previously handled by volunteers. This use of social agencies appeared also in the Adoption Committee. After 1900, as boarding homes came to be considered superior to institutional care, much of the adoption and placement service was handed over to agencies specializing in that work. In a similar way all matters pertaining to the unmarried mother were channeled into the Social Service Department which during the years has helped with the problems of over ten thousand women. Supervising this work was a committee headed for long periods by Mrs. Henry Hartz (now Mrs. Harold Browne), Mrs. John Bryant, and Claire M. Sanders.

Outstanding among the projects of the Hospital was the Mothers' Milk Bureau established in 1915, the first in Detroit and one of the few in the country. This Bureau did important work in saving lives of premature babies and supplying milk to research laboratories in different states. In 1925 Mrs. Allan Shelden's gift of over \$1500 made possible the free distribution of milk to needy cases.

Most valuable has been the clinical work and counselling for the unmarried mother. A prenatal clinic established in the 1920's and Mrs. Ford's gift of Valley Farm, a house on her Dearborn estate where girls might be sent for special pre- or post-natal

care, added to the work that could be done for the young mothers.

One of the dreams of the founders had been for "a general hospital for women and children where the diseases of women would be made a specialty." This dream was expressed by Mrs. Millar in her report of 1874, but not until 1909 was scientific research on women's diseases possible for the Hospital. In that year Mrs. Grace Whitney Hoff gave funds for a well-equipped laboratory. In 1927 four philanthropies for women, the Woman's Hospital, Tau Beta, YWCA and the Florence Crittenton Mission joined in a drive for funds. Under the leadership of Helen Newberry Joy (Mrs. Henry B.) the drive was carefully planned and the many enthusiastic workers well organized. It was a tremendous success, bringing in \$4,000,000 to be shared by the four organizations. The benefits to womanhood in Detroit were great. From another angle, also, the results were important. The achievement was a fine illustration of women's ability to work together for a great cause. In the new building made possible by this drive the laboratory work of the Hospital was expanded and a fine research program established.

Believing always in the ability of women, from the beginning the Board of the Hospital welcomed women physicians on the resident staff. During the first forty years fifty-three women doctors received training in the hospital, among them Dr. Bertha Van Hoosen, later professor of obstetrics at Loyola University in Chicago. At a time when women doctors were with difficulty establishing themselves in a profession unfriendly to women, this opportunity was very important. Dr. Gertrude Banks, Dr. Florence Huson, Dr. Mary Haskins, and all the resident women physicians helped build a fine tradition of service, which their successors, still serving, have carried on. This encouragement of women physicians has not meant the exclusion of men. Woman's Hospital is proud that some of the finest men in the city have served on its staff.

The service record of women connected with the Hospital has been an honorable one. With the women doctors should stand Charlotte E. Waddell, for many years superintendent, and a long roll of honor made up of Board members. At the time of the seventy-fifth anniversary, Lillian Silk Holt (Mrs. Frederick) had served as president of the Board since 1908 and fifteen members

had served for thirty years or more.* These and many others in the early days had answered all sorts of calls for help and had worked hours as nurses aids long before the term was officially recognized. Later they gave hours to planning the wise use of Hospital resources. The Board has always kept pace with scientific developments yet has never lost sight of the ideal for which the Hospital was founded. Expansion has come with the years, in physical plant and in services offered. The Hospital is up-to-date in equipment, staff and services. The philanthropies run by volunteers for over forty years are now handled by social workers. Today a general hospital, serving men, women and children, it is considered one of the best in the city. Its policies still guided by women, it is a symbol of the vision, courage, and practical ability of women.

In 1886 it became clear to a few women that there were many children who needed hospital care but whose parents lacked the means to give it to them. A free hospital, they felt, was needed for poor children. The women began in a small way with eleven free beds for which they collected subscriptions, and arranged with Harper Hospital for the use of a ward, agreeing to pay the hospital \$3.00 a week for the board and nursing of each child. There were eighty little patients the first year, and in two years the enterprise had grown so large that the women took a building at Seventh and Fort where they opened the Children's Free Hospital. Here, within another few years, they added an outpatient department in the barn back of the Hospital. Some of the leaders of this group were Mrs. H. B. Ledyard, Mrs. George Jerome, Mrs. George Lothrop, Miss J. H. Wendell, and Mrs. W. J. Crittenden. In 1896 Mr. Hiram Walker gave money for a new building and a generous endowment that permitted increased development. The women Trustees relied on an advisory board of men for financial advice, but all other decisions they made themselves. In the new building on St. Antoine Street they set up a training school for nurse maids, who, under supervision, cared for the children until a School of Nursing was opened in 1913.

* Alice Hibbard Baldwin (Mrs. Oren), Mrs. John Bagley, Mrs. W. H. Burtenshaw, Carrie Leppell Ballin (Mrs. Max), Emma Fox (Mrs. Charles), Mrs. Harry Gillespie, Mrs. Sol Heineman, Helen Newberry Joy (Mrs. Henry B.), Mrs. Alfred Low, Mrs. Fred T. Murphy, Suzanne Feiss Schloss (Mrs. Albert), Virginia Venable Shaw (Mrs. James T.), Carrie Freeman Smith (Mrs. Eugene), Mrs. Edward D. Stair, and Mrs. Joseph M. Schenck.

In 1914, with the help of a nurse supplied by the Visiting Nurse Association, they opened a Social Service Department. So clearly had the women's work demonstrated the need for this service for children, that when in 1922 the Trustees appealed to the Hon. James Couzens for help in expanding the services of the Hospital, he responded willingly. On condition that the Hospital merge with the Michigan Home for Crippled Children in Farmington, to become the Children's Hospital of Michigan, Mr. Couzens contributed \$1,000,000. As a result of the merger the Children's Hospital of Michigan cares for children in the St. Antoine building and sends convalescent children to the Home in Farmington. Again women pointed the way, proved the need, and won the support of private philanthropists in establishing an institution that brings health and cheer to hundreds of needy children in Detroit and Michigan.

The impulse prompting Mr. Couzen's generous gift had its origin in a much smaller project started by a woman who lived near him. This was the Blanche Van Louven Brown Hospital School for Crippled Children on Kenilworth. Blanche Van Louven Brown opened her School, which was really more of a home than a hospital, around 1910. Its work drew Mr. Couzens' attention, and his visits to the children there were the beginning of an interest that was to pour two million dollars into projects for crippled children. In 1915 he gave \$10,000 for larger quarters for the Van Louven Brown School, and a few years later he encouraged the union of the School with the Michigan League for Crippled Children. At that time he built the Convalescent Home in Farmington and merged the two as the Michigan Home for Crippled Children. Later, as has been pointed out, he gave \$1,000,000 to the work for crippled children, uniting the Farmington Home with the Children's Free Hospital as the Children's Hospital of Michigan. One woman's work resulted in a great philanthropy set up to care for crippled children and all children needing medical attention.

Several religious communities maintain their tradition of hospital service in Detroit. The Sisters of Mercy operate two hospitals. The St. Joseph Mercy was established in 1923 when the Sisters took over the old Samaritan Hospital. Twice since then they have enlarged it until in 1953 it has two hundred sixty-five beds and eighty-six bassinets. The Mount Carmel Mercy Hos-

pital, opened in 1945, is one of the largest Catholic hospitals in the country. The Sisters of St. Francis in Hamtramck and the Bon Secours Sisters in Grosse Pointe run smaller hospitals.

In the work of other hospitals women have played some part. St. Luke's Hospital, which has become a home for the aged, grew out of the attempt of Mrs. H. R. Andrews to provide a home for two old ladies. Inspired by her generosity, in 1862 Mrs. Caniff left some money for a hospital to be built under the auspices of St. Paul's Cathedral and named St. Luke's. Mrs. James McMillan gave generously toward the building of Grace Hospital, and although the Trustees are men, the Women's Auxiliary, "the Lady Managers," give great help in raising funds and in making decisions. In 1890 Mrs. J. S. Newberry, Mrs. C. Van Husen, Miss E. Taylor, Mrs. E. S. Barbour and Mrs. E. M. Lyon represented this Auxiliary at the fund raising Floral Exhibit. In 1922 Mrs. Minnie Anderson, a registered nurse, opened the East Side Hospital. It was a courageous venture for one woman to undertake, but so able was she that in 1931 she built a larger hospital of a hundred beds at 2144 Cadillac, and in 1939, still larger quarters. For twenty-five years Mrs. Anderson managed this hospital, earning the support and approval of many doctors. More recently Emma Farwell left the money that is making possible the new wing at Receiving Hospital. For the William Booth Memorial Hospital of the Salvation Army, and the Florence Crittenton Home and Hospital women's auxiliaries give hours to serving, mending, making bandages and contributing to the comfort of the patients. Plans are in the making for a Woman's Cancer Hospital, plans growing out of the success of the Women's Cancer Detection Bureau, sponsored since 1945 by the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs.

Many women, recognizing nursing as a woman's interest and responsibility, have given nurses' homes to the hospitals. Mrs. Eleanor Swain gave the first nurses' home to Harper Hospital. In 1893 Mrs. Henry Joy gave the Joy Home for the nurses of Woman's Hospital; and to the nurses of Grace Hospital she gave a week-end rest home on Elba Island, which they appropriately christened Joy Lodge.

A number of women have endowed free hospital beds. The Ladies of the Maccabees established the first free beds for women at Grace Hospital and one for children at the Children's Hos-

pital. Dr. Florence Huson gave a bed at Harper to be used at the recommendation of the YWCA; Mrs. S. M. McCutcheon and Mrs. C. C. Brownell each gave \$5,000 to endow beds for the charitable work of their church, the Fort St. Presbyterian; and Helen Handy Newberry endowed a bed at Grace Hospital for the use of the nurses.

In services for the non-hospitalized sick, women have also done much. In 1900 the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society organized to provide free medical aid for the needy. Under the leadership of Mrs. Seligman Schloss the project developed into the North End Clinic on Holbrook, for the housing of which Mrs. Leopold Weinman later gave \$15,000.

In 1922 the women of the Detroit Junior League organized the Detroit League for the Handicapped. Under their supervision and the efforts of Elizabeth Young McCormick (Mrs. Nelson), executive director for twenty years, the League has done an enormous volume of work for the handicapped. It provides home work or sheltered shop employment for adults and, in the two shops that have been developed, sells goods made by the handicapped who are not able to work outside the home. So successful has it been that a few years ago the Junior League turned it over to the city as a nearly self-supporting agency and took up other work.

In 1904 the Sigma Gamma Society was organized at the home of Mrs. Phelps Newberry to sponsor the Sigma Gamma Clinic and Hospital School for crippled children. Mrs. Elmore L. Stapes was the first president. In 1936 the name of the clinic was changed to the Detroit Orthopedic Center, and the name Sigma Gamma applied only to the School, outside of Mount Clemens.

The Michigan Society for Epileptic Children was organized in 1938 by a Detroit woman, who, ten years later, opened a camp for epileptic children of all races, colors and creeds. The camp is said to be the only one of its kind and is supported wholly by contributions.

A very important part of any hospital is the nursing, which has long been accepted as woman's work. In Detroit's first hospital the nursing was done by the Sisters of Charity, and until Harper Hospital opened in 1864, there was little demand for lay nurses. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the work of Florence Nightingale to raise the standards of nursing

made itself felt in this country, and in 1884 Detroit's first training school for nurses opened in Harper Hospital. Since that time, hundreds of women have devoted themselves to nursing; and under the leadership of able women, it has acquired a high professional status in Detroit.

Although the Farrand Training School of Harper Hospital was four years old when she arrived, the real development of the school began with Lystra Gretter, its second superintendent. In 1888 Mrs. Gretter was a young woman of thirty, a widow with one child, highly recommended by the Buffalo Nurses Training School, from which she had just been graduated. She had great respect for her profession and at the Farrand Training School bent her efforts toward giving her nurses better and longer training. By 1891 she had established an eight-hour day for student nurses, who formerly had been expected to work ten or twelve hours. She insisted upon having a graduate nurse on every floor of the Hospital and got the Board to inaugurate a preliminary training period for all probationers before they were sent to the wards. Within a few years, she lengthened the training course to two years and a half. When textbooks were unavailable, as was often the case, she outlined her own courses and wrote the lectures. She had an unusual breadth of imagination that saw the need for changes and the tact and persuasive skill to lead others to make these changes. From her ideas a committee worked out the Florence Nightingale Pledge, similar in purpose to the Hippocratic Oath taken by physicians. A copy of this Pledge in Mrs. Gretter's handwriting is one of the treasures of the Farrand Training School library, and the taking of the Pledge is today a solemn moment in the graduation of nurses from many schools of nursing.

I solemnly pledge myself before God and in the presence of the assembly to pass my life in purity and to practice my profession faithfully.

I will abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous and will not take or knowingly administer any harmful drug. I will do all in my power to maintain and elevate the standard of my profession and will hold in confidence all personal matters committed to my keeping and all family affairs coming to my knowledge in the practice of my calling.

With loyalty I will endeavor to aid the physician in his work and devote myself to the welfare of those committed to my care.

In 1935, Mrs. Gretter revised the last clause to read:

With loyalty will I aid the physician in his work, and as a missionary of health, I will dedicate myself to devoted service for human welfare.

Mrs. Gretter's deep belief in the dignity of her profession made her a leader in all professional movements in nursing. She was an early member of the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses (now the National League for Nursing Education), organized in 1893, and worked well in the vanguard of that group to carry nursing away from the apprenticeship stage to something more nearly resembling an educational program. She concerned herself with such national movements as uniform curriculum, a three-year course of training, and the preparation of graduate nurses as teachers by means of post-graduate study. For over seventeen years, Nurse Gretter, as she came to be known to hundreds of Detroiters, poured her energy into building up the Farrand Training School and developing the nursing profession.

Many distinguished alumnae reflect her influence. Two of these won prestige not only in Detroit but in the national organization of nurses. Sarah Sly, a graduate of 1898, was an able organizer and helped set up the National American Nurses Association, serving as its first president from Michigan. Agnes Deans, who graduated from the Farrand Training School in 1896, was a pioneer in public health nursing. She established the Central Registry for Nurses in Detroit. During the formative years of the Detroit Visiting Nurse Association she served as associate superintendent. Later she was superintendent of the Detroit city hospital for tuberculosis. For over fifteen years she was an officer and Board member of the American Nurses Association. At the time of the first world war Miss Deans was assistant director of the American Red Cross Nursing Service. In 1930 she wrote in collaboration with Anne L. Austin the *History of the Farrand Training School for Nurses*.*

* The Farrand Training School discontinued in 1933 but reopened in 1937 as Harper Hospital School of Nursing.

To Lystra Gretter's faith that improved education sublimated by spiritual gifts and graces would develop nursing into a wider, more helpful ministration, Detroit owes in part the high standards and ideals of the several nurses schools throughout the city.

Later schools of nursing followed a pattern somewhat similar to that developed by Mrs. Gretter, although the later schools had many advantages unknown to her. At first the superintendent of the school did most of the teaching, assisted only by doctors of the staff. Gradually able instructors were added. As the course lengthened to three years women who saw the need for further basic training for nurses recommended sending the students to Cass Technical High School and later to Wayne University for this work. Many of the schools had affiliations with other institutions, which made possible exchange of students for special training. In all of the schools of nursing the women who organized the training and built the foundations made a great contribution in the training in character as well as in professional skill which they gave the young nurses. Among these leaders were Eugenia Hibbard, Lucretia Gross and Laura Meader of Grace Hospital Training School for Nurses, which opened in 1889, only five years later than the Farrand Training School.

St. Mary's Hospital began its training of nurses in 1894 and Providence in 1910, a year after its opening. Before 1913 the Children's Free Hospital had trained nurse maids to care for the children, but Mrs. J. E. Clark and Margaret Chittenden Barbour (Mrs. W. T.) of the Board, feeling that the children should have more highly trained care and realizing the fine training opportunity in children's work that the Hospital offered, encouraged the establishment of a School of Nursing, which lasted until 1932. Woman's Hospital opened its Nursing Department in 1909, which continued until 1930 under the fine management of Miss Anne Peebles. Then it was decided to staff the Hospital with graduate nurses and to offer only special training in obstetrics. Since 1929, over five hundred nurses have done post graduate work at Woman's Hospital. In 1920 Evangelical Deaconess Hospital opened a training school; in 1923, St. Joseph's Mercy Hospital; and in 1925, Ford Hospital, which now has next to the largest nurses' training school in the city.

In 1944, with the support of the Liberal Arts College of Wayne University and the Detroit Council on Community Nursing, the

Board of Education authorized the establishment of the College of Nursing of Wayne University. Three years later Mercy College opened and now offers basic college training for nurses, but at the time of the Board's action, the College of Nursing at Wayne University provided the first and only opportunity for nurses in the Detroit area to receive their basic college preparation in connection with their professional training. Under the forceful leadership of the dean of the College, the only woman holding that rank in the University, the College quickly attained high professional status. Open to all persons, without discrimination, the College offers a full nursing program, with training of various kinds made possible in many of the city hospitals. It also offers a full graduate program and a service program of basic courses for student nurses in the city hospitals.

Directing these many schools of nursing are brilliant and able women, to whose executive ability and deep interest in nursing much of the effectiveness of the schools is due. They have built the standards of the schools and trained the hundreds of young women who every year enter the schools to begin their nurses training. The nurse's contribution is an important one, forgotten sometimes by the well, but gratefully remembered by the ill.

The profession of nursing is no longer confined to the home and the hospital. Nurses are needed now in industry, in department stores, in factories, and in schools. The first industrial nurse in Detroit was engaged in 1917 by the Solvay Process Company. Since then a large Detroit association of industrial nurses has been organized. Another large branch of nursing is public health nursing. In Detroit this work is in the hands of two organizations that have worked out a careful division of labor.

The oldest of these two organizations is the Visiting Nurse Association, which developed from the noble ideal of service of one of the early graduates of the Farrand Training School and the charitable impulse of a group of young girls. In 1889 when Alice Bowen finished her training and began nursing at Harper Hospital, no nursing care was available to the sick poor. Conscious of the suffering around her, and of the great need for nursing service in the homes of the destitute, this young woman began to spend her free hours in this work. She found helpers in a group of young society girls, sixteen or seventeen years old,

who used to meet every week to sew "garments for the poor" which she would distribute. The girls were Lizzie and Sally Noble, Lulu and Florence Weeks, Brownie Kellie, May Thayer, Amy Faulconer, Nora Johnson, Alice Ives, Cornelia Winder, Winnie Wendell, Marie McKay, Alice Chaffee, Emma Farwell, Minnie Armstrong, and Clara Dyar. Sometimes they accompanied Miss Bowen on her rounds, learning something of another side of life, and as they acknowledge, benefitting themselves more than the patients. In 1893, Alice Bowen went to Philadelphia to study and work with the Visiting Nurse Association there, and came back determined to form a similar association here, even if she starved. By this time the City Poor Commissioners had spoken of the need of such service but were given no funds, and so did nothing. Miss Bowen had no funds either, only her meager salary, but in a manner characteristic of women who see human need, she did not wait for appropriations. She went directly to work, using her own time and her own money. The little group of girls had no funds either, but inspired by Miss Bowen's courageous persistence they organized as the District Nursing Society and pledged themselves to raise money to pay the \$50 monthly salary of a "visiting nurse." To raise this money they gave every Thanksgiving Eve the *Bal Poudre*, for which each girl gave one dollar and her share of the salad, sandwiches, and cake served for supper. The girls continued sewing, meeting every week in Mrs. Gretter's room; but they found the sewing less fascinating than the balls, at some of which they cleared \$1,000. Their minutes of 1901 show that they were paying the salaries of two full time nurses and paid a third nurse for "relief only," and they continued to help in this way for many years. As late as 1916 they paid for three nurses. Miss Bowen's work interested also other groups, and in 1898 representatives from the District Nursing Society, the Young Women's Guild of the First Congregational Church, the Young Women's Guild of St. Paul's, the Young Peoples Union of the Woodward Avenue Congregational Church and the Alumnae of the Farrand Training School met to form the Visiting Nurse Association, which Alice Bowen had vowed to see established in Detroit. She had given so lavishly of her strength that within a year poor health forced her retirement, but she lived to watch the infant Association grow strong and take to thousands the nursing care once available only in hospitals.

The object of the Association as given in the Articles was "the systematic management and gradual extension of district nursing in our city and the giving of skillful and sympathetic relief to numbers of the sick poor within our limits." In more concrete terms, the nurses were to nurse the sick, educate the family, and prevent as much as possible the spreading of disease in the home. By 1903 the Association realized that the need of home nursing was not restricted to the very poor, and their pamphlet of that year states: "Any patient who can do so may pay 25 cents a visit to assist in the work of the Association." This policy of charging those able to pay for this service has been continued, for many people not requiring full time nursing service are able to pay for an hour or so of time given by the visiting nurses. Today between 40 and 50 percent of the patients pay for the care given them.

The growth of the Association was rapid. In 1905 Katherine Whitney McGregor built and gave a house at 4708 Brush to be home and headquarters for the nurses, but within a few years the number of nurses had so increased that the home became headquarters only. In 1906 the Association joined with some of the women's clubs in organizing a Babies Milk Fund. The nurses supplied information to the mothers as to how to feed and care for their babies. From the very beginning, Mrs. Gretter had been greatly interested in Miss Bowen's work, and had been a member of the Board of Directors of the Visiting Nurses. In 1907, feeling that in this Association she could function in a broader field than in the nursing school, she resigned as superintendent of the Farrand Training School to become superintendent of the Visiting Nurses. Here her intuition, her ability to work with people, and her boundless energy led the Association into many community services. A nurse loaned from the VNA staffed the city's first tuberculosis clinic so effectively that today in a widely expanded form this service is financed by the city Board of Health. The VNA also provided the first school nurse in 1907, and started visiting sick children in their homes, a work that public funds soon took over.

Mrs. Gretter insisted that her nurses know the latest developments in the field of nursing, and so the nurses were sent to the Henry Street Settlement in New York, to Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, to study what these cities were doing to make the

"home hospital" the greatest possible help in the community. In 1919 she was instrumental in getting the University of Michigan to offer a course in public health nursing and in persuading her nurses to enroll in this and other accredited extension courses.

Under the leadership of Alice Bowen, Nurse Gretter, and Emily G. Sargent, who followed Mrs. Gretter as director in 1923, and a fine Board of Directors, one of the finest visiting nurse programs in the world has been developed in the Detroit VNA. Beginning with one nurse and tiny headquarters in the corner of a drug-store, the Association now has over a hundred nurses and nine different offices. In thousands of calls to thousands of patients every year, these nurses give maternity service, bedside care, diet and nutrition instruction, and therapy. An excellent training center assures that the nurses do not go out uninstructed, and training in physiotherapy and mental hygiene keeps them abreast of modern developments in nursing. What a Board member said of the work some years ago is true also today: "It may show great heroism to go as a missionary to Africa, but greater to my mind is it to go as a visiting nurse to an African attic on Hastings Street and do the work I saw your nurse do there . . . acting the gospel of kindness and cleanliness. . . . To me these nurses seem consecrated women, doing a good work in a beautiful way."

The other organization for public health nursing is the Nursing Division of the Board of Health. The city moved slowly to assume its responsibility in public health nursing, but once the responsibility was assumed, the work progressed rapidly, and today several hundred nurses work in different fields of nursing at several nursing centers.

The nursing work of the Board of Health began in 1906 with a nurse supplied by the VNA for the city's tuberculosis clinic. For several years the VNA supplied nurses for that and similar work, but in 1908 the city set aside money for two city nurses. The idea that there is good in all things gains support from the fact that for several years these nurses were paid with "liquor monies." As the city grew and as the need for health clinics and nursing, especially among the foreign born of the population, became increasingly evident, dental, eye, and baby clinics were opened. Increased attention was also given to prevent the spread of contagious diseases in the schools.

The woman responsible more than any other one person for

the development of the nursing work of the Board of Health was Grace Ross, director of the Division from 1916 until 1951. Taking office in quarters so small that the only way in which she could get any privacy was to set up cardboard partitions around her desk and chair, she worked for thirty-five years to build up the Division, always seeing ahead to some way of extending and improving the service. Under her leadership many strides were made. Steps for the training and licensing of midwives were taken, a general nursing service, one nurse to a family instead of several nurses for several different kinds of help, was instituted. Long before mental health programs had been heard of, Miss Ross indoctrinated her staff with the principles and practices of mental health. Like Lystra Gretter and Emily Sargent, she believed that nurses should have high professional status and did everything in her power to increase their training and education. To keep the nurses alert to new techniques she instituted an "in service" educational program and sent nurses to Merrill-Palmer School to study child development. In 1925 she was sent with Mrs. Gretter by the Nurses Association to the world conference of nurses in Helsingfors, Finland.

The extensive work of the Nursing Division would not have been possible, no matter who its director, without an able and faithful body of women nurses. As field supervisors, directors of various divisions, as clinic nurses, and as nurses who daily make their rounds to the homes of the poor and unfortunate, these women play an important part in making Detroit one of the healthiest cities in the world.

Part of the excellent status of nursing in Detroit is due to its professional organizations. Mrs. Gretter early saw the need of these and shortly after her arrival organized the Farrand Training School Alumnae. In 1902 this organization, together with the alumnae group of Grace Hospital nurses, formed the Graduate Nurses Association of Detroit. This Association began with twenty-six members, of whom Lucretia Gross, head of Grace Hospital School of Nursing, was made president, and Mrs. Gretter, vice-president. Its purpose was to build professional standards and to work for the state registration of nurses. In 1904 this group played a large part in the organization of a state nurses association to expedite the state registry (finally secured in 1908) and to secure a nurse practice act. The Detroit group,

now the Detroit District of the Michigan State Nurses Association, has always been an active group of women. In 1907 they voted to support women's suffrage, some time before many other women's organizations had taken the plunge; in 1908 they joined the Federation of Women's Clubs; in 1921 they allied themselves with the Business and Professional Women's Association; and in 1948 they joined the Inter-Group Council for Women as Public Policy Makers. The Detroit District alone now has a membership of four thousand hospital and public health nurses, engages its own executive secretary, and is intelligently and actively interested in all matters affecting the welfare and status of nurses as individuals and of nursing as a profession.

In 1917 Mrs. Gretter called together the directors of the four community agencies then providing nursing service independently of each other, suggesting that they discuss ways of working together. The result was the Central Bureau of Nursing, established in the McGregor Home on Brush Street, with Mrs. Archibald Diack as first president. From this Bureau has grown the Council on Community Nursing made up of the forty agencies operating in Detroit today to provide nursing service.

Lay women have always given help and support to nursing, whether in the gift of a nurses' home, service on a hospital board, or in rolling bandages. In 1918 the great shortage of nurses and the heavy load of patients in the hospitals, both conditions a result of the war, made some kind of outside help necessary. At this time the Gray Ladies were organized in New York to relieve the nurses of many duties for which professional training was not needed. Many Detroit women have served the hospitals through this organization. Today there are over a thousand Gray Ladies active in Detroit, serving in three federal hospitals and in twelve civilian hospitals.

Philanthropists

THE WORLD KNOWS DETROIT as a wealthy city, a city of high wages and profits, where fabulous sums of money are made and spent. It does not always realize that some of that lavish spending is altruistic. Detroit is a city of great philanthropies as well as strong industries and of generous men and women. Many women in Detroit have devoted large sums of money to charity and civic causes, and others have given freely of their time and ability. Few women have the money to support a charity single handed, but working together they can do a great deal and in addition win the interest and support of others willing to help once they have been shown the way. There must always be workers to start an enterprise, to work for it and to translate its needs to others. This kind of work women of Detroit have always been ready to undertake.

One of the causes that engaged women's attention in the late nineteenth century was the need for pleasant but inexpensive housing and recreation for working girls. The city was full of "young females" from the farms and small towns of Michigan who had come to the city to find work. They were eager for new experience, yet timid at the same time, and quite unprepared for the financial and moral difficulties facing them. On the farm a weekly wage of \$5.00 had seemed affluence, but in 1875 that sum did not go far in Detroit. Decent living quarters they could afford were hard to find. Cheap rooming houses were dirty and offered pitfalls to the innocent stranger, but low wages permitted nothing else. "Heaven will protect the working girl," sang the variety show artist, and many people apparently accepted the

assumption as true. Fortunately for the working girl in Detroit, there were women who did not wait for Heaven's protection, but decided to offer a little of it themselves.

The first group to pinch hit for Heaven was made up of some women who had already shown an interest in the problems of young women. One of these, Mrs. Margaret J. E. Millar, had come to Detroit a widow with four children and had immediately become active in civic work. So many were the calls for her help that before going to school in the morning, her boys would harness the horse for her so that she could start forth immediately when needed. A prompt, efficient person herself, she waited exactly ten minutes for anyone late for an appointment with her and then went her way. She had been active in the founding of the Woman's Hospital and for several years edited *The Foundling*, its little journal. Now she turned her attention to the housing problem. She, Mrs. John Bagley, Mrs. H. M. Plunkett, Mrs. D. M. Richardson, and Eliza Seaman Leggett (Mrs. W. W.), daughter of the physician who first introduced vaccination into the United States, organized the Young Woman's Home Association, planning to open and run a home for working girls. This step took courage. A quarter of a century later other groups were to open small houses, but this Association, formed in 1877 "in the best industrial and moral interests of women," was a pioneer venture. Other women joined them: Dr. Sarah Gertrude Banks, Dr. Helen Warner and Dr. Elizabeth Deuel, Mary Wilkins Beecher (Mrs. Luther), and Maria Dickinson McGraw (Mrs. T. S.). Secure in having good doctors to look after the health of the girls they were to house, the women proceeded to guard their religious and legal interests as well, by asking the Rev. R. Scott and Mr. J. C. Hawley, a lawyer, to join the group as advisors. In 1877, they opened the Home for Working Women in part of the Haigh block on Jefferson Avenue. For ten years they rented quarters, but in 1887 the present building on Clifford and Adams was erected. It is now known as the Young Woman's Club.

In the carefully recorded minutes of the early days when the Association furnished room and board for \$2.50 a week, one can read of the difficulties and joys of running the Home. The records list the donations of mince pie and fresh cocoanut cake brought in by the ladies, who, incidentally, did all the marketing

for the Home. They tell also of the generous plumber who never charged for his work, and the year's supply of meat from Mr. William Owen, of the "rent men," kind friends who took care of the rent bills each year, and of the Mother Goose Bazaar put on for three days in Mrs. Leggett's home to raise money.

The women of the Board had imagination as well as zeal. In addition to performing the many duties connected with running the Home, they initiated a number of activities later taken over by other agencies. They established an employment bureau and a nurses' directory and as early as 1885 had begun a simple form of travelers' aid. One of the earliest King's Daughters groups was formed in the Home, and the ten girl members adopted a child and his family as their first project, sharing their little with those who had less. Before there was any formally recognized YWCA, Mrs. M. C. Fisher and Mrs. Morse Stewart organized a Christian Association for Young Women and arranged devotional meetings for Tuesday nights.* When it was found that some of the girls planning to go into domestic service knew little or nothing about cooking and cleaning, the women organized classes to teach them, supplying the material to be used from their own pantries. For other girls, Dr. Mary Stevens, Mrs. Emma Thomas and Mrs. Edna Chaffee Noble, took time from busy schedules to offer classes in hygiene, singing and elocution. To furnish a pleasant home at the price the girls could afford took time, thought, and money; but the women did it. For seventy-five years they have maintained the Home.

Although the pattern for housing for working girls was set early, it was twenty years before another similar project was undertaken. As early as 1893 the YWCA had first offered girls a place down town where they could find an inexpensive lunch or join other girls in a class or informal discussion, and then, seeing the need for housing young women, in 1899 opened a residence branch on Joseph Campau that would house about twenty girls. Within ten years the YWCA opened two more houses, one on St. Aubin and one on Hubbard, all planned to give comfortable but inexpensive homes to girls on limited in-

* 1893 is the date usually given for the beginning of the YWCA, but the program prepared by Mrs. Crapo Smith for the Musical and Floral Charity Concert of 1890 lists the YWCA among the charities and states that this began in 1883 under the leadership of Mrs. Morse Stewart, who held devotional meetings every Tuesday evening for employed girls.

comes. In these days of high wages it takes a stretch of the imagination to realize how very limited those incomes were.

In 1910 the Girls' Protective League was ready to tackle the problem, seeing in the lack of desirable housing an important factor in the delinquency of young women. At the suggestion of Agnes Stevens Farrell (Mrs. Percy), a stock company was formed to finance a home for young women, and women all over the city bought bonds for this venture. In 1914 the League opened Priscilla Inn on Cass Avenue, a self-supporting but non-profit hotel. From the conception of the idea to the present, many women have given time, thought and money to the enterprise, among them Mrs. Henry Ford, Nellie Atkin Service (Mrs. S. J.), and Dr. Mary Stevens, who served for twenty-five years as president of the Board, supervising the many details of management.

Several other groups established smaller homes for working girls. The Jewish Women's Club managed one on Rowena Street near John R., and the Women's Christian Temperance Union opened the Frances Willard Home on West Vernor in 1912. In 1913 the Big Sisters, a group of the Catholic Settlement Association, opened Barat Club in the old Lafayette Avenue home of Annie Hammond Casgrain (Mrs. Charles), which she offered rent-free for the project. On the third floor were cots to be used without charge by needy transients or by girls looking for work. After the Settlement Association became the League of Catholic Women, one of their first projects was to raise money to buy a home on Watson Street, which took care of thirty girls and boasted "café service" as well, and for Rowena Club, which they took over from the Catholic Business Women's Club. These and other homes helped serve the living problem for part of the army of young women working in Detroit but left the needs of many unmet.

In the late 1920's women undertook several larger projects. The YWCA, sharing in the \$4,000,000 women's campaign, built its main building on Witherell and Columbia and the Highland Park Branch, both of which offered residence accommodations. A little earlier, the League of Catholic Women, realizing the inadequacy of the small homes they had opened, embarked on a project that would provide a club house for the League and at the same time a residence hall for girls. It took courage and

enthusiasm to raise the \$750,000 needed, but gradually the women gathered in the funds. In 1928, Casgrain Hall at 120 Parsons, named for Mrs. Charles Casgrain, the League's first president, was opened as a home for nearly 250 young women. Five years later, the Salvation Army opened the Evangeline Residence at 2530 Second Avenue for young women. The Salvation Army is an organization of men as well as women, but women had a good deal to do with the planning of the home, and a Women's Auxiliary stands ready to help this enterprise as it does all the work of the organization.

Young women were not the only persons who needed homes. Much is being said today of the increasing number of aged persons in our population for whom provision must be made. The number is growing, but the problem is not wholly new. There was need for housing for the aged in the nineteenth century and there were women who saw the need and responded to it. Isabella Duffield Stewart, who did so much for women and children in the Home of the Friendless, dreamed also of a home for the aged. It is said that it was she who suggested such a home to Mary Thompson (Mrs. David). In 1874 Mrs. Thompson gave \$10,000 for a home for old ladies. Ten years later she bought the lot and built the home at Cass and Hancock avenues that bears her name. Since her death the Home has been run by a woman's Board, a number of whom have given generously to its endowment. Virginia Scripps Whitcomb (Mrs. Edgar) left it \$5,000 in 1953.

In 1897 the Phyllis Wheatley Home for aged colored women was organized. Seeing the many clubs developing in the city, some negro women formed the Charity Club to take care of an old and homeless negro woman. Soon they saw a wider need, and led by Mary McCoy (Mrs. Elijah), Fanny Richards, Eva Loomis and others, opened a home on East Elizabeth Street. Now in its new quarters at 92 East Willis, the Home is still managed by a Board of women and is a memorial not only to the young negro poet for whom it is named but also to the courage and vision of the women who planned it to shelter the women of their race. The Jewish Old Folks Home was organized in 1907 by a handful of women who had worked together visiting the sick and aged. Later the Home was moved to 11501 Petoskey Street and put under the Jewish Welfare Fund, but it is still under the

management of the Women's Auxiliary organized thirty years ago by Mrs. J. L. Leavitt, who served as its president for twenty-five years. In 1917 the King's Daughters of the city, with some assistance from several groups of King's Sons, opened the Old Folks Home on Mt. Elliott. Later, when Mrs. Mary Wright left the Home nearly \$10,000, the Daughters used that money to help finance a new home on Pierson near West Seven Mile Road, to which every member of the five hundred King's Daughters groups in the city contributes annually.

Recent care for the aged has gone beyond the need for housing and has tried to meet their psychological as well as their physical needs. To this relatively new interest many women's groups are contributing, either in small sums given for an old folks party or some treat or by making calls, distributing books, or driving elderly women to church or to the doctor. In the League of Catholic Women a Junior Committee of Friendly Visitors works with the United Community Services; and Neighborhood House on Fourth and Porter offers a reading room with radio and TV for old men in the vicinity and even helps them get part time jobs. One of the most interesting projects is the Day Center for Senior Citizens, recently set up by the Junior League in the East Grand Boulevard area.

Women started many of the early social settlements. The expanding industries of the twentieth century brought new supplies of labor to Detroit. From the South and the East, from Europe and Asia, and from small towns everywhere, workers poured into the city, creating congested communities where people of many lands and races lived in poverty, often at war with each other and with little understanding of the city to which they had come. That peace and friendship have been reasonably well established in Detroit between races, faiths and groups of many kinds reflects honor on many men and women who time and time again, as the need developed, took up the task of lessening hostility and increasing understanding.

Much of this help was given in the early settlement work. The idea of the social settlement, as developed first in London and then in this country by Jane Addams, was that settlement workers should live as neighbors of the group they serve, offering help with a neighbor's sympathetic understanding of the problems to be faced. In Detroit the growth of settlements has been a record

of achievement in improving housing, recreation and health, in building better relations in industry and in the law courts, and in interpreting the needs of the foreign born to Detroit and Detroit to them. The settlements are not the work of women alone, but to numerous women must go credit for their patience, tact, their hours of volunteer service, and their indefatigable enthusiasm in money-raising projects that have helped make the varied programs possible.

The early Detroit social settlements were not born as such; like Topsy they just grew. And they "grew" in several instances from small institutions developed earlier by different groups of charitable women. Franklin Settlement, Detroit's earliest one, started in the Franklin Street Nursery opened by the Detroit Day Nursery and Kindergarten which had been organized in 1881 by women who saw that working mothers needed help in caring for their children. Gradually the need for help among older children and among the many foreign born men and women led to a greatly broadened scope of work and to the establishment of a resident social worker. Chiefly responsible for the development of settlement activity and for the splendid morale built up between the workers and the community was Margaret Stansbury, Detroit's pioneer settlement worker. Miss Stansbury came to Detroit in 1894 to teach music in the Detroit Conservatory but was so disturbed by the need and misery she saw in the city that she gave up her music and went to Chicago to study social work under Jane Addams at Hull House. In 1897 she came to the Day Nursery-Kindergarten on Franklin Street, engaged to add social settlement work to the Kindergarten activities. For the next eleven years she spent herself working for playgrounds, public baths, evening schools for immigrant workers, better housing, stricter regulation of saloons and dance halls, and medical clinics. Under her guidance the five social workers who came to live in the Franklin Street Settlement became true friends of the neighborhood, ready day or night to settle a quarrel or help a new baby into the world. When Miss Stansbury died in 1908 Detroit lost a noble woman. Her epitaph is well-written on a plaque in the new hall.

Through such souls alone, God, stooping,
shows sufficient of his light for us in
the dark to rise by.

The growth of Franklin Street Settlement bears witness to her strength. In 1907 a bath house and gymnasium were made possible by a gift of \$7,000 from Mrs. Samuel Smith. Baby and adult clinics were later financed by Mrs. J. B. Schlotman. There were other gifts of money and time. The months and years of service freely given by women to this settlement alone is not surprising to those aware of women's capacity for this kind of work, but to others the record is almost incredible. Miss Mary Weber, for example, gave her services as a sewing teacher for thirty-five years, furnishing all the materials herself and often bringing her friends as helpers. During those years she and her assistants taught over eight thousand girls and women how to handle the needle. Young women volunteers started parties and classes in dramatics and dancing to give the girls, mainly Italian, Sicilian, and Romanian, a little social life outside the home where they were closely confined by fearful parents. Under directors following Miss Stansbury the program expanded greatly. Prenatal clinics taught mothers to abandon the custom of swaddling clothes; an Americanization program taught the twenty-four nationalities of the neighborhood something of the English language and Detroit's way of life; and public laundry facilities, once the overburdened women ceased to be afraid of the machines, encouraged cleanliness and lifted much drudgery from their shoulders. Athletics boomed, and a woman's gift in 1930 of a boxing ring led to the Golden Gloves Tournaments in which Joe Louis discovered his talent.

By 1930 the population had so shifted that a new location seemed advisable. When the move was decided upon, Mr. and Mrs. Edsel Ford gave the site for a new building at Elmwood and Charlevoix and Mrs. Lydia Mendelssohn started the building fund campaign with a gift of \$10,000. The Board of Directors met for the first time in the new house in a staff room furnished with the \$5,000 gift of Mary Weber, who did not live to see the new building. Now, in 1953, Franklin Settlement carries on a constantly expanding and changing program. Its Board includes women who have served for many years, the two sisters of Mary Weber, some of the women, now dignified matrons, who first taught dancing and dramatics, and the granddaughter of Governor Alger, who gave the first \$5,000 that made the Detroit Day Nursery and Kindergarten possible in 1881. The women who

opened the kindergarten and Margaret Stansbury, who established the settlement program, are gone, but their high ideals of human relationship still govern the work.

The free kindergarten established in 1890 at Rowena and Russell by the King's Daughters of Woodward Avenue Baptist Church was the starting point for another settlement. Settlement activities had quickly developed around this kindergarten, and the East Side Settlement House was built around the corner, on Superior Street, in 1907. As the King's Daughters turned their attention elsewhere and the kindergarten lapsed, another group of women opened a day nursery there in 1909, calling it the Sophie Wright Nursery in honor of the great woman who had pioneered in free education in New Orleans. Eventually, in 1923, this name was given to the whole social settlement. One of the early leaders was Stephanie Gott, a niece of Franz Schubert, who developed a lively music program.

Women were also responsible for the beginning and the continued management of Neighborhood House. In 1857 a group of Protestant women had organized as the Detroit Ladies Industrial School Association to take care of the child beggars on the streets. Their attempts to meet the children's need by giving them industrial training as well as food and clothing was most successful, and in 1879 they put up a new building on their land at Grand River and Washington Boulevard, expecting to continue their work. But by 1888 business had so encroached on their property that the school was inaccessible to the children who most needed it. Regretfully, they decided to give up temporarily the industrial work and to start kindergartens in some of the poverty-stricken parts of the city where they could give little children the first essentials of clean, decent living and start them on the road to being good citizens.

Back of this decision was a courageous group of officers: Mrs. C. Van Husen, Mrs. W. Parker, Mrs. Zachariah Chandler, Mrs. N. P. Jacobs, Mrs. John Harvey, and Mrs. G. N. Fletcher. With the help of a large committee of representatives from the Protestant churches and Temple Beth El, they started an ambitious program. They began with four kindergartens, and by 1896 were running eight, with a total enrollment of one thousand children. In connection with one of the kindergartens, the women conducted mothers clubs, and in another they offered two weekly

classes in domestic science, one in the evening for working girls. The truly amazing part of the program was the normal training school program they set up in 1892 for the volunteer kindergarten teachers. Before there was any kindergarten work in the public schools, these women brought in a paid director from the East, where Elizabeth Peabody had popularized the kindergarten idea, and established on the second floor of their old building a training school. The volunteers were trained in the morning and spent the afternoons helping in the kindergartens. The Association continued the training school for four years and the kindergartens until about 1900. In 1895 the public schools, seeing the needs that these schools had met, began to consider adopting a kindergarten program. Kindergartens were gradually introduced and a training program was added to the curriculum of the Washington Normal School. By 1905 the Association, rejoicing to see the work taken over by the city, turned their attention to developing a settlement program on property they had bought at Fourth and Porter. They began in a small way, but by 1913 they had erected Neighborhood House, a center for neighbors of all ages, where a settlement program was, and still is, carried on. Until 1952 Neighborhood House derived its support from money raised by the Board of women and from the income derived from the Washington Boulevard property that Mrs. Colin Campbell had insisted the Association buy in 1858. It was a wise investment, but in 1952 as expenses soared and outside contributions decreased, the Board decided, rather unwillingly, for they were proud of their independence, to ask the help of the United Foundation. Today on the Board which directs the work is the daughter of Mrs. John Harvey, who was herself the daughter of Mrs. Colin Campbell. Service for life is the motto of that family as far as the Industrial School-Neighborhood House is concerned.

Another settlement which developed from the work of a group of young women was the Tau Beta Community House. In 1901 four young girls, Eloise Jenks, Hildegard Meigs, Margaret Snow, and Marian Stinchfield, decided to form a club of their own with a worthwhile interest. At first the fascination of pins, secret grips and initiations provided the interest, but by 1906 they were ready for more serious purposes. This they found in a diet kitchen, in which they prepared soups, jellies, and custards which they delivered to the patients of the visiting nurses. They used the

domestic science kitchen of the Liggett School at first and then one in the Visiting Nurses' buildings. Donations of milk tickets and sherry for wine jelly were gratefully received, but most of the supplies they furnished themselves, sponsoring ball games, garden parties, and raffles to earn the money. In 1915 they established a branch kitchen in Hamtramck in connection with the Babies Milk Fund Clinic set up by the Visiting Nurse Association and found in this district the center of their future home. The next year the club bought a two-story flat on Hanley Avenue where a visiting housekeeper and a nurse could live and where they could hold a few classes. With unconscious symbolism, the neighbors called it "the house with the light." Gradually the young women set up a full settlement program. In 1916 they began the nucleus of a library which they housed and staffed until the city took it over as a public library. They opened a day nursery and organized classes of all kinds—cooking, harmonica playing, etiquette and dramatics. In 1927 they joined with three other women's groups in a fund-raising campaign and with their share of the funds were able to build the beautiful house which is now in every sense a community house for Hamtramck. Here a full activity program is carried on. During the summer the sorority runs, with community help, a children's camp, and since 1940 one of the members has financed a summer play school. Among the four hundred members added through the years to the original four Tau Betas, one finds names familiar through several generations of community service—Campau, Crapo, Hodges, Sibley, Duffield, Russell, Trowbridge, and Newberry—names of families still mindful of the principle of *noblesse oblige*.

In the same year that four school girls organized Tau Beta, twelve Polish women organized the Polish Aid Society with the well-defined purpose of helping the Polish immigrants who were rapidly increasing the population of Detroit.* Helping the new arrivals meant effort and sacrifice. Through the mud of unpaved streets, the women used to walk sometimes several miles to look after new-born babies, to give medicine, to help with citizenship papers and sometimes to arrange funerals. The last decade of

* Founders were Mrs. Anna Lachajewska, Mrs. Rose Pasternacki, Mrs. Katharine Pasternacki, and Mrs. Harriet Pasternacki, Mrs. B. Wesolowski, Mrs. So-clomea Savinski, Mrs. Katherine Lesinski, Mrs. Tekla Wetzand, Mrs. Maria Mioskowski, Mrs. Theodosia Chilinski, and the Misses Barbara Zoltowski and Maria Kroll.

the nineteenth century had seen a high peak in Polish immigration and there was real need for help. The group began their work as many groups of women have before their time and since, with no funds but with high aims. Right away they organized a concert and dance to get the proverbial shoestring on which to start. For twelve years on foot or by street car, only occasionally with horse and buggy, the women went on their errands of mercy, brightening the lives of others. In 1913 they hired a worker, paying her \$8.00 a week. For funds they relied on donations and money raising parties. In 1919 they started a day nursery, which, after she retired from business, was run by Helena Rozanska, a Polish business woman and philanthropist who devoted the money she made in her large store to helping Polish women and girls. During the post-war depression of 1921-2 they served a hundred persons a day in the free soup kitchen. They made layettes, taught English classes and organized recreation for young people. In 1923 they bought a cottage for their nursery, and in 1936 purchased the present Harper Community House, 6000 Dubois Street, which today houses the settlement activities.

Another group of women started the work of the Polish Activities League. Organized in 1915 as a relief committee to help Poland's war victims, the group decided in 1920 to continue their work as the Polish Activities Committee of the League of Catholic Women. The Committee undertook a program of social service with particular stress on aid to families in trouble and to new immigrants, on hospital visiting, and on naturalization assistance. Under this sponsorship they opened Ste Anne's Community House as a center. Within three years, however, their work brought them to the conclusion that the most effective work among Polish people could be done by a Polish group unhampered by barriers of language and psychology. For this reason they decided to sever their connection with the League of Catholic Women and to establish their own social agency, the Polish Activities League. To raise funds and gain new members they organized a "Help the Stranger" crusade. The results, thirty members and thirty dollars, was a discouraging beginning, but the women went ahead and in October, 1923 opened Ste Elizabeth House on Tarnow Street, the first Polish Community House in America, and established there a social worker and a program of activities. Later this center was moved to the west side of the city on Junction

Avenue, and a second center, Ste Anne's, was opened in Hamtramck at 2441 Andrus Street.

The Polish-American women have worked tirelessly in the League to set up and maintain a full settlement program and to solve the social and legal problems of the newly arrived. They operated the first Polish-American summer camp, ran a food kitchen during the Depression, feeding over eighteen thousand persons during five months, organized a Big Sister program that has been particularly helpful to maladjusted girls, established a home for the aged, assumed the care of refugee orphans, and set up, and for a time operated, a home for veterans. They worked with police women for city ordinances to protect girls working in beer gardens and taxi dance halls. Through their efforts the Polish Activities League has served as a bridge over which thousands of Polish immigrants have been helped to make the difficult crossing from European ways to American citizenship.

The Father Weinman Settlement grew out of the interest of one young woman, Josephine Brownson. While still a school girl, Josephine had been interested in the Italian and Sicilian youngsters, whose families were creeping into the East Larned and Jefferson neighborhood where she lived. By 1906, she had begun to organize classes in English and catechism for which she got permission to use the old carriage barn belonging to the Palms family on Jefferson Avenue. With the help of friends she fixed this up as a club house, where she and her friends carried on a staggering program of classes, clubs, lectures, and parties. Remembering the kindly priest who used to gather the children for Bible stories, she named the club the Weinman Club. In 1910 the young women sponsors decided to organize as the Catholic Settlement Association.* They rented a small house for the settlement on Larned Street and started to expand their social work. They did family visiting and clinic work, ran clubs and fresh air camps, taught classes, made layettes and tried to help girls in difficulty with the law. Interest among Catholic women was so great in the work that in 1915 Annie Hammond

* Association members were Annie Casgrain, Katherine L. Calvin, Hattie B. Danaher, Mary A. McMahon, Anna M. Doughty, Mary I. Ward, Mary J. Latham, Mary M. Berkery, Nellie Corcoran Reid, Elizabeth B. Schumm, Emily A. Chapoton, C. Laura Pringle, Lottie B. Martz, and Helena Austin Scott.

Casgrain suggested the organization of a Catholic women's league that would make more extended work possible and give more women a chance to help. Under the able presidency of Mrs. Charles Casgrain and later of her sister, Mrs. Edwin Skae, the League of Catholic Women expanded rapidly until it is now one of the largest charitable organizations in the city. Under its supervision Ste Anne's Community House was opened in 1919 by the Polish Activities Committee, and in 1920 Ste Rita's Community House was opened. As neighborhoods changed, these were closed and St. Peter Claver House on 450 Eliot and the Casa Maria Settlement at 1500 Trumbull were opened.* Father Weinman Settlement, the seed from which this all grew, is still under the supervision of the League in larger quarters at 4820 Avery Avenue.

Occasionally a settlement grows out of the interest of an individual, but rarely does it remain so largely the labor of one person as the Gershom Settlement did. This Settlement was founded, named, and largely financed by Sarah Grindley. Her work began in 1899 with a Sunday School in the old Fort Wayne Library in Delray, formed at the request of her minister, the Rev. John Reid of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church. It was the only English speaking Sunday School in the vicinity and by the second year had an attendance of over three hundred. Soon additional classes were set up in added buildings, mostly old saloons, and as more helpers were needed, the minister of a nearby church used to announce, "Miss Grindley has rented another saloon and needs assistants." When the Fort Wayne group became a mission with its own minister, Miss Grindley opened another school in a small Hungarian church.

In the Delray neighborhood of open sewers and public dumps she found disease and dirt everywhere and incredible ignorance. Promptly she bought two lots and erected a small settlement house which she called Gershom, "a house that would minister to strangers in a strange land." The area was a strategic one bounded by tracks and hemmed in by factories with hundreds of families crowded into a few blocks. The Board of Health gave her the services of a nurse and the Department of Recreation an occasional worker, but the expenses of the Settlement

* The Polish Activities League took over Ste Anne's on Andrus Street, Hamtramck.

for over twenty years were borne by Miss Grindley. When friends expostulated over the thousands of dollars she was spending, she told them that begging belittled God's work and that it pleased her to be able to give money and the time that no one could buy from her. To save one hundred and forty children from having to cross eighteen sets of railroad tracks on their way to school, she gave the Board of Education one of her lots for an annex to the Morley School. When she found that older children were being kept at home from school to care for the babies while the mothers worked, she opened a day nursery. For years she ran a summer camp on Joslyn Lake for some of the children. The Settlement, which after her death in 1945 became the Sarah Grindley Neighborhood House, was closed in 1950. Its work had been done, and the neighborhood no longer needed a settlement. In her memoirs Miss Grindley failed to mention many of her charities, but as one old friend said, that wasn't necessary. God is a good bookkeeper.

The women's groups in many churches do a great deal for some of the settlements, sewing hundreds of garments and raising money for children's shoes, blankets, and other necessities. The women of the Mary and Martha Service Guilds of the Lutheran Settlement House on Trumbull near Selden. Occasionally a church group sponsors a neighborhood center. An example of this is Friendship House on St. Aubin near Hamtramck, which is supported by the Detroit Baptist Missionary Society, made up of women's groups from the Baptist churches of the city.

The kind of work done in settlements is sometimes done by other groups. This has been true of several efforts that women have made to help women depressed by their attempts to bring up a family on almost no money. In 1892 a small group of women tried to help some of these women to help themselves by setting up an "Exchange" where skilled needlewomen or good cooks could turn their skills into money. The group, Grace Whitney Evans, Kathleen McGraw Hendrie (Mrs. George T.), Maria Dickinson McGraw (Mrs. Thomas), Emily Pulling Lloyd (Mrs. Thomas S.), Anne Shipman Stevens (Mrs. Frederic B.), Mary Mendelbaum, and Mary Stewart, opened a small room in a flower shop on the present site of the D. J. Healy Shops on Woodward, where needy women might bring their work to sell. Here and in

its later home on Adams near Witherell, the Women's Exchange for fifty years provided an outlet for fine sewing, embroidery and knitting and provided unexcelled tea room and catering service, still a nostalgic memory to Detroiters.

Other women needed help in getting on top of the seemingly hopeless task of keeping house. In 1910 the volunteer workers for the Associated Charities frequently found women living in utter filth, with apparently no ambition or knowledge of how to keep a room clean. Feeling that someone with specialized knowledge was needed to help women of this type, one of the workers recommended a visiting housekeeper who would go into the homes and teach women how to clean their rooms and keep them clean. Knowing of no funds to provide this service, the young volunteers went home and asked their fathers for help. With the funds received from parents and friends they engaged a woman trained in home economics for the work. The next year they organized the Visiting Housekeepers Association and raised money for the housekeeper's salary, until in 1917 the Community Fund took over the work.

Further help for mothers came through Bay Court, which Katherine Whitney McGregor (Mrs. Tracy), philanthropic daughter of David Whitney, gave to the Associated Charities as a vacation home for mothers and children. The place had been run as a summer hotel in New Baltimore and made a wonderful vacation spot. After a few years the Associated Charities offered the Bay Court project to the District Nursing Association, the group of women who as young girls had financed the first visiting nurse. These women did, and are still doing, a fine piece of work with the camp, one of the first mother and child camps in the country. As director, they were fortunate to have Rose Osterhout, a friendly and dynamic leader. The house was a big one, holding ninety adults, not to mention the babies that could be tucked away in it. Through the hospitals, churches, and newspapers, needy mothers were chosen for vacation periods of two weeks. They took their small children with them but had no care of them. For these mothers, many of whom had lost courage to battle life, Rose Osterhout established a mothers' club that won country wide recognition for its success in giving the women the will to begin again. The camp has been moved to Waterford, but the women of the District Nursing Association

still manage it and contribute to its support.

As the number of philanthropies in Detroit increased and the possibility of duplication of efforts became evident, the idea of an association of some kind developed. In 1890 Isabella Duffield Stewart came back from London where she had been observing the organization of social work with the suggestion of an Association of Charities. This was formed and from it in a slow process of evolution has come the United Community Services of today.

Out of the association of philanthropic institutions developed the idea of federated giving. This idea began on a small scale rather early in women's groups. In 1874 the Home of the Friendless joined with the YMCA in an Authors' Carnival. In 1889 and 1890, and possibly for a number of years, about twenty philanthropies cooperated in an elaborate Floral and Musical Charity Festival. The festival was sponsored by the *Evening News* under the management of Mr. William Brearley, but the women did the planning and the work. In booths suggesting the architecture of various countries pretty girls representing the different charities sold the articles that go with all fairs and dispensed food and drink—for a price. A full catalogue prepared by Mrs. H. H. Crapo-Smith and Mrs. R. H. Fyfe gave illustrations of the booths, and described the work of the philanthropic organizations putting on the festival. The \$11,000 cleared in 1890 showed that the plan was a good one. In 1918 the Association of Charities, out of which by that time had developed the Community Union, proposed a city-wide plan of federated giving. Claire Sanders, who with Mrs. Henry B. Joy had been one of the organizers of the Union, and who had been a volunteer social worker ever since the beginning of the century, helped present the idea to the women's organizations. Some of the women were a little doubtful at first; they knew that men could raise money, but they weren't sure whether the dispensing of the money would work out satisfactorily. They agreed, however, to give the plan a trial.

Since 1918 Detroit has had some form of community giving, in which a great many of these philanthropies share. As a result, much of the energy that the women formerly devoted to fund raising can now be turned to constructive planning. Additional funds still have to be raised, for the Community Fund allotment seldom covers all expenses; but the financial uncertainty that

must have disturbed the dreams of many women in earlier years is greatly lessened. The Community Fund, of course, still has to be raised. It does not drop from the sky like manna. For this task an army of women is mobilized every year. There is a Women's Committee of the United Foundation that works throughout the year, stimulating fund raising activities and educating the public about the agencies for which the money is raised. In the fall they recruit and organize three thousand women from a hundred and fifty women's organizations. These women take a training course and then go out to perform the thankless job of collecting pledges and money. In door-to-door canvassing the women raise about \$750,000, representing the small gifts of many people who through this work have been led to accept the opportunity of being a part of the community philanthropies.

Since many of the early philanthropies in Detroit grew out of church groups, and most charitable causes today are supported by women also active in church work, it is fitting to close this chapter with some comment on the contribution of women through the church. To primitive man, understanding little of the process of procreation, of the rhythmic recurrence of the seasons, woman seemed a source of magic power. It was not surprising, as Mary Beard points out, that woman, from whose body come the babies and under whose hands the earth brings forth food, should be worshipped as a goddess, as the spirit of fertility, as Mother Earth, the source of life. Under various names, Demeter, Isis, Ceres, and in varying symbols womanhood has been honored all over the world. In the temple of the goddess women were her chosen priests. Queens and princesses often served as high priestesses, while women of lower rank performed the minor details of temple ritual. In all pagan religions goddesses were as important as gods and were served by priestess as well as by priest.

When the ancient Hebrews slowly shifted from polytheism to monotheism, Jahweh was elevated as the one and only deity and worship of the female principle disappeared. As the goddess disappeared, so did the priestess. There were no women priests in Judaism, nor were there any in the early Christian church, although women were important in the first development of Christianity. The letters of St. Paul show the help women were

giving in the spread of the gospel through Greece and Asia Minor, but, "I suffer not a woman to teach," said this zealous missionary. In the Middle Ages man's attachment to the feminine qualities that have always been a force in human development revealed itself in the adoration of Mary the Virgin. Mankind needed the tenderness, the pity, the gracious fervor of woman to humanize the strictly impartial justice of the Deity as interpreted by the Church. But in the Lady chapels of the cathedrals the ministrants were always priests. Hilda, the great abbess of Whitby, taught theology for thirty years in the joint abbey for men and women that she founded at Whitby and presided over the great Synod there in 664. So able was her theological teaching, Bede tells us, that five bishops studied under her. A woman might train a bishop but might not herself serve as the humblest priest.

Not until the nineteenth century were women admitted to the ministry, and then only in small numbers. Some denominations, among them the Congregational, the Unitarian, the Disciples of Christ, the Methodists, and part of the Baptists ordain women as pastors, at least in theory. In actual practice few churches call a woman minister. A number of the Protestant denominations refuse to ordain women, and neither the Roman Catholic nor the Jewish church admit women to the priesthood. In the Quaker Congregation and in the Christian Science Church women have equal standing with men, but neither of these churches has a minister in the ordinarily accepted use of the term. This strong prejudice has kept most women from entering even the theological seminaries that admit women. Doctors and lawyers may face prejudice, but slowly, one patient or client after another, they can make their way. For a woman minister the situation is different. Unless a church calls her she can not carry on her profession. There are many ordained women in the country who have never taken a pastorate.

During the last decade, however, there has been a decided increase in the number of women entering the ministry. A 1950 study made by the World Council of Churches revealed this and the more important fact that in many denominations the question as to whether women should be admitted to the ministry is being seriously argued. The tendency seems to be toward a breaking down of some of the old prohibitions. Detroit statistics bear this

out. In 1940 there were thirty women ministers in the city of Detroit. In 1950 there were seventy-five, an increase of 150 per cent. Most of these women, it is true, are serving in the Pentecostal or Spiritualist churches, rather than in the older, more conservative denominations, but the increase is still significant.

Of the women ministers that Detroit has had in the past the earliest was Mrs. Annie Knott, who came to the city in 1884 to practice Christian Healing. At that time no public Christian Science services were being held anywhere except in Boston. Three years later Mrs. Knott was asked by Mary Baker Eddy, under whom she had studied, to organize and hold public services in Detroit. This was no easy task, but Mrs. Knott was a woman of great spiritual depth, and the services she instituted in 1889 in Royal Templar Hall were well supported. A year later she was ordained pastor and in 1892 the First Church of Christ Scientist was incorporated. In 1895 at the dedication of the Mother Church in Boston, Mrs. Eddy ordained the Bible and *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures* as pastor of the church and asked other churches to conform to this plan. Mrs. Knott, therefore, resigned as pastor of the Detroit church to become its first reader. Besides founding the first Detroit Christian Science Church, Mrs. Knott helped to establish in Michigan the legal right of spiritual healing. In 1896 a bill aimed to outlaw all healing practices other than that of the recognized medical schools was brought up before the Legislature. Mrs. Knott's strong appeal before that body for the right of Christian Scientists to follow their own method of healing was undoubtedly one of the factors that led to the defeat of the bill and to the Medical Practices Act, passed in 1899, which recognized the practice of healing by spiritual means, a means now accepted by several religious denominations.

For a few months in 1912 a very remarkable woman minister from Kalamazoo preached in the Church of Our Father while the church looked for a successor to the Rev. Lee S. McCollester. This was the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, under whom a rather run-down Unitarian Church in Kalamazoo had developed into a thriving institution known as the People's Church. After a pastorate of over ten years, Mrs. Crane retired to take up the related ministry of civic doctoring, in which she lectured far and wide on civic sanitation. It was during her ministry that Robert

Ingersoll said that if he lived in Kalamazoo he would join the People's Church.

The woman minister best known to Detroiters is one who never had a church of her own. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, wife of the former pastor of Central Methodist Church, is an ordained minister. After her husband's death she came back for many years at the invitation of the Church to take part in the Good Friday services. Persuasive and dramatic in her preaching, lecturing, and writing she has spread the gospel of peace and understanding. In 1949, as Chairman of the Committee on the World Day of Prayer established by the National Council of Church Women, she wrote the prayer used in churches all over the world.

In all fields but the ministry, women have been an important influence in the church. There is no question but that they were a power in the early Detroit churches. The records of Ste Anne's Church do not reveal their work, but a story from the early nineteenth century suggests their loyal support. Peter Desnoyers came home one night laughing heartily because he had seen the priest, Father Richard, in jail.* His wife saw no humor in the situation. Indignantly, her black eyes snapping, she snatched back the dinner she was serving and put the food over the fire again. "Pepé," she said, "there will be no dinner for you until you have done something to get the Father out of jail."

In the development of the Protestant churches women were an active force. Elizabeth Cass, a staunch Presbyterian, is said to have been the influence behind her father's efforts to found a Protestant society in Detroit. The records of most of the early churches show a predominance of women among the founders. The first Methodist society formed by the Rev. William Case, the circuit rider, consisted of three men and four women. The First Presbyterian Church was organized with thirty-seven women and twelve men, and the second, the future Fort Street Presbyterian Church, had at its start sixteen women members and ten men. The First Baptist Church, founded in 1827, grew out of a little group of six women and three men. And the first person to be baptized into membership was another woman,

* Just before Father Richard went to Congress in 1825 he was sued for libel by an angry parishioner whom he had read out of the church for marrying a second wife while his first wife was still living. Unable to pay the bond required, Father Richard was actually put in jail for several days.

Nancy Cabell, whose baptism, attended by nearly every one in town, was probably the first in the Detroit River.

Much of women's work in the church takes the form of voluntary services, usually given through some of the women's organizations. In the early Detroit churches women were certainly helping before there was any organization. We know that the women of St. John's Lutheran Church at Monroe and Farrar were giving fairs in the early 1850's and there must have been altar societies in some of the churches. The earliest record of women's organizations within the church are from St. John's Episcopal Church, founded in 1859, in which the women were meeting at the rectory once a week during the winter of 1861. The next winter the group had so increased that it was necessary to rent a house on Clifford for the meetings. Here the Church Aid Society was formed with seventy members under the leadership of Marion Bachus and Mrs. Mary Burch and for many years carried on many kinds of social service, sewing circles, cooking classes, and mothers clubs. Social service has always been an important part of the work of most church groups. The quilts, the general sewing and the baskets they fill are of assistance not only to the needy of the parish but to numerous philanthropies in the city.

A second early interest of women's groups in the church, and in some churches a more important interest than social service, was foreign missionary work. Very often the first women's group was a missionary society. In 1868 Mrs. Mary Clark Nind helped found the missionary society that was the forerunner of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. The Home Missionary and Ladies Aid Society of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church was formed in 1870. Many young women went forth from this church to foreign mission fields. Although interest in missions is less universal among church women than it was fifty years ago, women's organizations still give generously to this work, and many groups support a church missionary abroad. The Episcopal women of the world gave \$3,000,000 in their 1951 thank-offering. This of course was over and above all that they gave towards the work of their own churches.

Gradually women's organizations have assumed much of the support of the general church program. Whether known as the

Women's League, the Sisterhood, the Sodality, or the Ladies Aid, these bands of loyal women are the ones to whom the minister and the church look for a variety of services. They assume care of the altar, the vestments and the flowers; they put on the fairs and the suppers and organize most of the fund-raising events; they sew for the poor and are mindful of the sick; quietly and efficiently they are ready to help at any point in the church program. The 250 some members of the Women's League of one not-large church in Detroit has in the twenty-two years of its existence raised over \$78,000 for the church and its benevolences. Without this kind of help the average church would be a very different place from what it is.

Women's organizations in the church have an ecumenical point of view, although their work in national groups of church women is centered in the social service aspects of religion, not in the theological. In the Protestant church an Interdenominational Missionary Society was formed as early as 1912. Today as the United Church Women of Detroit, the organization maintains a keen interest in matters affecting the home, the church and the community and promotes effective action among church women. In the Catholic church the National Council of Catholic Women sends out through the churches a suggested program of work. Both organizations serve to unify the women of each group and to lift their eyes beyond the needs of individual churches to the possibilities of work to be done everywhere by Christian women.

A great many women give through the church as individuals. The roster of the women who through the years have contributed substantially in time, labor, and money to the churches of Detroit would be a long one and an interesting one. It would contain unexpected names, names of women who hardly let the right hand know what the left was doing. It would also contain many familiar names, names of the leaders of each generation. Most interesting perhaps would be the unknown names, the names of obscure women for whom the church was the center of life outside the home. The list of women's gifts would be varied. It might begin with the Mariners' Church itself, the gift in 1849 of two sisters, Mrs. Julia Anderson and Charlotte Ann Taylor. Mrs. Anderson worried a good deal about the rough life of the sailors on the water front, and she thought a church near them, one built especially for them, might draw their attendance. When she

died, her money went to her sister with the understanding that at the latter's death, it should go to build a stone church for the sailors.

A few other women have also been able to give generously of their wealth. Mary McGregor Scotten (Mrs. Orren), a member of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church for over sixty years, gave \$50,000 for a new church house. Julia Frances Owen contributed substantially to the endowment of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Ellen Barry Hammond (Mrs. George) gave to the Catholic church the site for St. Aloysius' School (now the site of the Book Building).

Other women give lives of active service to the church. Deaconesses, in many churches serving without pay, give hours of work each week visiting the sick and undertaking many parish duties. Others without title shed their influence as noble Christian women, carrying on the work of the church wherever they go. Christine Cowie of the Westminster Presbyterian Church was for fifty years one of the most active church workers in the city. Mrs. Margaret Hansen of the Preston Methodist Church lived frugally all her life, saving the money she made by working summers on the D&C boats that she might give it to needy young people all over the world. When she died, leaving all she had to the church and its work in foreign missions, the women of the church put up a stained glass window as tribute to her contribution. Detroit has many women like these.

Women have given years of faithful teaching in the Sunday School, often leaving an indelible imprint on lives that came under their influence. Sadie Shotwell Tucker started a class for teenage girls in the Central Methodist Church in 1906 that still continues, although Mrs. Tucker died in 1945. Many girls, strangers in the city, found hospitality in her home and friendly guidance. Fannie Richards, the first regularly appointed negro teacher in the public schools, found time to organize the Sunday School of the Second Baptist Church and teach there for nearly fifty years. Josephine Van Dyke, for some years a teacher at Cass High, found teaching catechism the "only worthwhile career." She not only taught it, and wrote a series of books designed to take children through the Catholic story, but she taught other teachers how to start catechism classes, which were the beginning of the Catholic Instruction League, formally organ-

ized in 1916, which in 1940 enrolled over fourteen thousand children.

Not to be forgotten are the many professional workers employed by the church, the missionaries, the executives and field workers in denominational and interdenominational organizations, the directors of religious education, the teachers and editors of church periodicals, and the workers in church hospitals and schools. Many of these contribute far beyond the call of duty. The women of the Evangelical Deaconess Association of Detroit, formed in 1914, work among the sick and needy of the Evangelical church and in the Deaconess Hospital, founded in 1917. The first supervisor of this hospital was one of the first four deaconesses trained in the Association, Benia Fuchs. Another, Emma Morzahn, began the Nursing School in this hospital in 1921.

In the Central Methodist Church Alice Shirey worked as deaconess for nearly thirty years. Miss Shirey came to Detroit in 1906 to minister to the physical and spiritual needs of church members, and for this service given unstintingly during the day or night, she received in the first years room and board and \$8.00 a month. In her black dress, bonnet and white tie, she was a familiar figure in the downtown area. As Detroit grew, her opportunities for service grew. She was responsible for beginning the Chinese Sunday School, which grew from seven families in 1915 to a full fledged mission of five hundred. In 1914 she helped materially in starting vacation Bible schools for children. She was never too busy to undertake work for the church. A class of young girls whom she trained to help her once gave her a Ford car which, with trial and much error, she tried to drive. She finally decided that she was safer as a pedestrian and so continued her many visits on foot.

In matters of church government women play a less important role. Of churches in the United States questioned in a recent survey, seventy-one of one hundred and five denominations give women a share in policy shaping and in some of the offices of the church. When Mrs. Clark Nind was sent as a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1881, the Conference refused to seat her on the grounds that she was a woman. That incident might be put down to Victorian prejudice, were it not also true that at a very recent National Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, two women elected as representa-

tives by their diocese were also refused seats by a majority vote.

This of course is not the whole picture. In many churches women sit on governing boards and serve as trustees. In church councils they represent the women's organizations. As one member pointed out in answering the survey of the Council of Churches, the church reflects the world around it. Women are most active in churches at the lower rungs of the ladder, and so are they in civic life.

But the matter of government is not all-important. Women in Detroit in their work as teachers, nurses, social workers and philanthropists are carrying the Christian ideal into the community. In their homes they are contributing to the work of the church in nurturing their children in a religious faith. The role of interpreting the church to her family and to the community is one that many women fill, even though not engaged in church organizations. It is a worthy contribution.

CHAPTER 6

Club Women

WITH A POPULATION of over 285,000 Detroit entered the twentieth century a very different place from what it had been at the beginning of its second century of life but still quite unaware that within the next half century it would become one of the world's greatest industrial centers, Dynamic Detroit, the Arsenal of Democracy. It was a beautiful city with stately trees shadowing quiet streets that had never heard the screech of automobile tires. From beautiful homes ladies in rustling silks that swept the ground summoned their carriages for an afternoon of calling or a drive around Grand Circus Park where the flower beds spelled out the motto they accepted as true: "In Detroit life is worth living." Young people bicycled to Belle Isle in spring and danced on summer evenings on the deck of the new *Tashmoo* as it slowly steamed up the river. Some of them had heard of a young fellow named Henry Ford and his horseless carriage, but most of the girls found the new Graustark books more thrilling than this bit of reality. Of politics and such unlady-like subjects as women's suffrage they were not encouraged to talk. Cardinal Gibbons addressing some young lady graduates in Washington in 1905 said:

You cannot be in the thick of battle without getting some of the dust. How can the delicate soul of a woman go into the midst of the corruption and wrangling of political life without being smirched?

And most men and some women agreed that women did not belong in politics.

But there were some women who felt that to avoid the dust was to shirk responsibility. They saw ugly spots in the beautiful city: shabby sections where foreign born groups lived in crowded, dirty rooms; graft and corruption in ward politics that threatened the integrity of city government; and problems of health and morality that endangered youth. They saw less fortunate women already besmirched because of social injustice or economic need and wanted to help them. They regarded community well-being as the responsibility of all, women as well as men, and were willing to risk the dust if through their efforts they could make life in Detroit worth living for more people. They realized that many of the problems of the city were the very ones they faced in their homes: health, nutrition, sanitation, and the moral protection of youth. Because they were accustomed to making decisions and taking action there, they were not afraid of handling these problems in the community.

The interest of these civic-minded women was largely centered upon the needs of women and children, but their approach to the problem was different from that of the nineteenth century. In that century women had responded to the immediate needs. Finding children orphaned, they had housed and fed them. In the twentieth century the multiplying social problems arising from poverty, immigration, and industrialization could no longer be solved by the charitable acts of a group of ladies. Women now saw that they must insure protection for those who might need it through law and through well-established institutions. They must seek not only palliative but preventive devices. It was not enough to gather the young hoodlums from a few streets and teach them to mend shoes. Somehow, provision must be made by which all young people who needed vocational training should find it available. As much as possible they worked through legislative action and organized institutions, seeking protection for those who at some time because of their sex, their youth, or their poverty might make a wrong turning. For the first twenty years of the century they worked without any vote themselves, accomplishing their ends by difficult, indirect methods.

Single-handed these women might not have been successful, but as leaders of groups of women they were a powerful force. This group action was made possible by the wide-spread development in the early twentieth century of women's clubs. Clubs of

all kinds and purposes sprang up in Detroit until there were few women of the upper and middle classes who did not belong to one or more. The early clubs were usually cultural groups. Women who had not had the privilege of going to college, as well as those who had, began to seek culture and self-expression in the study of such subjects as the poetry of Browning or Italian art. The first woman's club of this kind in Detroit was the Detroit Woman's Club founded in 1873 by Frances Newberry Bagley, (Mrs. John) only a month after the first woman's club in the state had been formed in Lansing. The Woman's Historical Club formed a few years later by Lina DeLand Brearley (Mrs. W. H.), expressed its cultural purpose very clearly in its constitution:

Believing that home and society demand of women broad and free culture and that usefulness and enjoyment are enhanced by such culture, we the undersigned desire to be included in the membership of this club only those who aim for the pursuit of such attainments.*

The come-out-of-the-kitchen movement had begun. Domestic help, which was within the means of many, left the housewife free for an afternoon club meeting or even a morning lecture, especially if she could be fortified by the assurance that this would "enhance" her usefulness. The Historical Club very deliberately defied the wash-day tradition by setting its meetings on Monday. Some men looked suspiciously at the club movement, and one had the temerity to lecture on "Brains and Brooms," warning women that if clubs interfered with their home duties, clubs should be abolished. The women listened politely but decided he knew little about his subject.

Gradually, as women's responsibility in civic affairs was more widely accepted, some clubs turned to altruistic purposes, giving the cultural aims second place, as the more selfish and frivolous. "A club has no right to be a self-culture club unless to develop leadership to carry culture to the community," the Federation of Women's Clubs reminded its members, adding:

* Charter members were Mrs. Brearley, Sarah Webster Stevens (Mrs. J. T.), Elvira Wilkinson Allen (Mrs. W. H.), Mrs. Albert Hill, Miss S. A. Brearley, Lydia Hopkins, and Elizabeth Dwight.

A woman may find her whole club life in one civic-minded group but not in a social or self-culture group. In addition to this sort of club membership she owes it to her self-development as well as to the community to belong to a club that has the welfare of the community at heart.

Not all club women were immediately imbued with the idea of social reform. Full emancipation of the Victorian lady came slowly. Many were slow to accept the idea of women's suffrage, or even to approve of women's participation in civic affairs. But inspired by leaders they trusted and admired, conservative and advanced alike began to work for such causes as children's playgrounds, compulsory education laws, and homes for working girls. Women who would never have led a movement, willingly followed those who had the vision and the purpose. This willingness to follow in a cause that others direct is a great strength of women's clubs and the source of much of their effectiveness.

The pattern of women's clubs as they cut across the woman power of Detroit in various ways was an interesting one. Grouping women now as to religion, now according to education, and often as to interest or purpose, the clubs provided not only a means through which women could develop their own powers of leadership and self-expression but also an instrument with which they could effect social, legal, and even political changes.

There were many different clubs and groups of clubs. One group was the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs. If women could be more effective in an organization, thought Mrs. Frances Margah, president of the Detroit Review Club, so could a club accomplish more in an organization of clubs; and so she asked Mrs. John Bagley, as representing the oldest club, to call a meeting proposing a federation of women's clubs. This Mrs. Bagley did, and in 1895, eight organizations, the Review Club, the Twentieth Century Club, the Detroit Woman's Club, the Woman's Historical Club, the Clio Club, the Wednesday History Club, the Hypatia, and the Zatema Club formed the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs.* At first the Federation was less strong than some of its members, but as it joined the state and general (national) federations of women's clubs and developed its own program as distinct from those of its members, it grew in

* All these except Zatema are still meeting.



Those halcyon days when Grandma needed a cook

strength. In 1916, the president, Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh (Mrs. R. H.) persuaded her brother, John Dodge, to buy a club house for the Federation. This gift of permanent headquarters gave strength and prestige to the group and increased the membership. The Federation now numbers over 140 clubs.

Easily the most outstanding of Detroit women's clubs in the first quarter of the century was the Twentieth Century Club. Founded in 1894 with seventy-nine charter members, the Club had begun with the high ideal of having "wider aims" and doing "a greater variety of work than any woman's club hitherto formed in Detroit." Its program was planned to balance "academic altruism" with "egoistic culture" in four departments of study: home and education, philanthropy and reform, art and literature, and philosophy and science. The membership, which by 1919 was over six hundred, included most of the forward-looking women of the day, women who took very seriously their responsibility toward Detroit and who furnished the leadership for much of the civic work done by the clubs between 1900 and 1925. Many of them were women of means, but not all. Among the members were Stella Krebs Brumme (Mrs. Carl), Adaline Dunlap Booth (Mrs. Chas. Hague), Mrs. Hermon Sanderson, Mary Egan Livsey (Mrs. J. Hal), Harriet Robinson McGraw (Mrs. Wm. A.), and Mrs. William E. Robinson, all of long service to the club; and Mary McCoy (Mrs. Elijah), a civic-minded negro woman active in many causes to help her race.

For the first ten years the Club carried on a cultural program, initiating little action, but the titles of the papers read at the meetings show that members were giving serious attention to current problems. In 1899, two members discussed "Comparative Methods of Philanthropic Work at Home and Abroad," and the next year Mrs. Oscar Jaynes forecast the club's work in establishing traveling libraries in her paper, "What our Club Might do for the Waiting Occupations—Traveling Libraries for Barber Shops, Engine Houses, Police Stations, Jails and County Houses." At the end of the decade the Club moved into its permanent home, the Century Association Building, which had been projected and financed by several members, chief among them Clara Avery, the Club's first president, and Alida Deland Smith (Mrs. Samuel). This was the first building in Detroit financed by women and erected for their activities. In 1904, the

Club had only two civic committees, the Anti-cigarette Committee, earnest if not permanently successful in its endeavors, and the newly formed Civic Improvement Committee; but within a few years, as women became increasingly active in civic affairs, the Club turned from academic altruism to civic action. Carrie Hendrickson Johnston (Mrs. George), president from 1909-1912, introduced committees on Legislation, City Art and Design, Child Welfare, and Housing Reform, an indication that the Club was ready to channel its energy and ability into movements of social reform.

In 1903, Emma Fox (Mrs. Charles) and Katherine Scott Finn (Mrs. Albert) founded the New Century Club for the study of parliamentary law, but within a year its ten members had increased seven-fold and the program had expanded to include philanthropic and civic work. Interest in parliamentary law was very strong in Detroit, for club women were serious in their purposes and saw in the knowledge of correct procedure a means of giving validity to their work.

The woman who did most to arouse and keep alive this interest was Mrs. Fox, who helped draft the by-laws of many of the early Detroit women's clubs. She worked for many women's causes, including suffrage, and firmly believed that women's clubs were a potent factor in the progress of America. Her chief interest, however, was parliamentary law. In 1899 she founded the Parliamentary Law Club, and served as president until her death. For over forty years she conducted classes in the subject, using as a text her own book, *Parliamentary Usage for Women's Clubs*, which was known and used over the country and was adopted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs as its parliamentary authority. Through her club, her book, and her classes, she made Detroit women conscious of the need for correct procedure and taught many club presidents all they knew about conducting a meeting. For sixty-seven years she was active in Detroit women's clubs, flying to her last convention in 1945 at the age of ninety-eight.

Not all women's clubs belonged to the Federation. One of the oldest, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (later the American Association of University Women), had its own national affiliation. The Detroit group, formed in 1889 with seven charter

members* was a small group, primarily interested in education, especially in continuing education of its college graduate members, but it was destined to grow in strength and civic importance. As more women went to college, the College Club was organized and alumnae groups of many colleges and universities were formed, primarily for fellowship, although nearly all of them offered scholarships to Detroit girls to the institutions they represented. One of the largest of these is naturally the Association of University of Michigan Women, founded in 1912. This group has made a continuing effort to improve the opportunities for women students on the campus and to secure greater recognition for women on the faculty. Much of the money for the Michigan League Building in Ann Arbor, for example, came from Detroit women.

A few years ago some of this group succeeded in bringing another woman professor to the campus. A Detroit alumna discovered that in 1898 Catherine Neafie Kellog of Detroit had left a bequest of \$10,000 to the University with the stipulation that when it was large enough the income should be used to endow a chair "not in music and not in physical education" for a woman "of acknowledged ability." By 1945 the original \$10,000 had increased to \$88,000, but nothing had been done about using the money. The women of the Alumnae Council raised \$12,000 among the alumnae and the University undertook to augment the income from \$100,000 by whatever was necessary to pay the salary of "a woman of acknowledged ability." Since 1950 the Catherine Neafie Kellog Chair has been ably filled by a woman professor in psychology.

The development of fraternal organizations among another segment of women was almost phenomenal. Fraternal organizations started in the 1880's as mutual benefit or insurance societies for men, but women were quick to see the value, socially and financially, for their sex as well, and formed women's auxiliaries. Then a few women with foresight and business ability developed separate women's organizations. In a short time there were

* Charter members were Elizabeth Parker McCollester (Mrs. Lee), Alice Simpson McGraw (Mrs. T. A.), Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens, Mrs. Fannie Mulliken Thompson, Mrs. Harriet Warner Bishop, Dr. Helen Warner, and Miss Martha Warner.

hundreds of ladies lodges in Detroit, offering fellowship and the fascination of ritual, high-sounding titles, and ceremonial garb. Many of the lodges offered also low-priced life insurance and sickness benefits. In a period of low wages and uncertain employment this insurance was often a real assistance. Mothers welcomed the knowledge that their death would not leave the children destitute or their funeral expenses wipe out the family savings. From a social angle the lodges were very important. In circles where a church social or an occasional parade were the only evening activity outside the home, lodge night was a welcome diversion. Women in these groups found the same satisfaction that other women did in clubs like the Twentieth Century or the Detroit Woman's Club. They worked with other women and they learned how to do things—to conduct a meeting or plan a program. Through the lodges they also had the chance to work for community projects and women's causes. Many of the groups worked for suffrage and for some of the social reforms that other clubs had started. Often women of little background discovered through lodge work unsuspected powers of leadership.

One of the earliest and most important of these organizations was the Ladies of the Maccabees, started in Muskegon in 1886, probably the first legally established organization made up exclusively of women.* The hives, as the small local groups were called, were active in many ways but made a special contribution in their early endowment of free beds in Grace Hospital, by means of which hundreds of Detroit women had a chance to regain their health. Prime leader and organizer among the Lady Maccabees of Detroit was Sarah Jane Latour, an ardent feminist and strong club woman who had a hand in most of the civic movements started by women's clubs in this period. Mrs. Latour, deputy commander for many years, Emma Bower, supreme record keeper of the Lady Maccabees and an early newspaper woman, and Dr. Isabella Holdom, medical examiner for the Maccabees, did a great deal for women in developing and organizing the work of the organization.

To name all the many other fraternal organizations is impossible. The Women's Catholic Benevolent Association organized many branches in the churches and owed a great deal to Mrs.

* In 1926, the Ladies of the Maccabees joined the Knights to become one order of the Maccabees.

Alice Dilworth, its supreme officer for thirty-five years. In Port Huron Miss Bina West started the Women's Benefit Association and, as the University of Michigan said in 1924 when it conferred on her an honorary degree, "had the courage to pioneer it to unparalleled success." The Association had many Detroit branches and Miss West's imposing figure was well known in the city. Other fraternal organizations for women or for men and women, not all offering insurance but all having mutual benefits of some kind, are the Gleaners, Eastern Star, White Shriners, Rebekahs, Independent Order of Forresters, Royal Neighbors, Supreme Forest Woodsmen, Polish American Women's Alliance, Pythian Sisters, and a score of others, including the B'nai B'rith. In all of these, women have developed their own powers and contributed to the development of Detroit.

The Detroit Association of Women's Clubs was formed in 1921 with eight member clubs: the Willing Workers, Detroit Study Club, Lydian Association, In-As-Much Circle of King's Daughters, the Labor of Love Circle of King's Daughters, West Side Art and Literary Club, and two groups from the Second Baptist Church—the Altar Society and the Earnest Workers. In a short time the organization grew to fifty clubs. These groups took up the needs of the community, sponsoring charitable causes, parliamentary law classes, and councils for young women and young girls, and work in interracial and intercultural relations. Today the groups numbers seventy-five clubs.

There were many other groups: mothers' clubs and Parent-Teacher Associations; suffrage organizations and the political clubs that developed from them; business and professional women's groups; societies for painters and musicians; women's auxiliaries of various kinds; church groups; nationality clubs among those of foreign background; and numerous small groups of various aims. They were not all equally active in civic work, but most of them contributed in one way or another to the social reforms started by the larger clubs. In these, although the social and cultural side of women's interests was by no means ignored, there were many women who believed with Emma Fox that women's clubs should be a power in American progress and who led the clubs in movements of significance for city welfare. Many of them were fully aware that women could not ignore political life. "We cannot enter kitchens," said Mrs. Clara B. Arthur,

charter member of the Twentieth Century Club, "without coming in contact with the political side of domestic concerns. The water supply and our garbage pails remind us that something is managed for us, not by us." By 1901 women were working for better conditions of work for women and girls in the factories and were urging that a woman inspector be appointed. In 1903 a Consumers' League was formed. In 1908 the Civic Improvement Committee of the Federation of Women's Clubs listed as subjects of study for the year: schools and better candidates for the Board of Education, smoke nuisance, juvenile court, enforcement of municipal ordinances, manual training in the schools, problems of cigarettes and drugs, increased park facilities, and enlarged school grounds.

Some women had a vision of what the city might mean to all people and they had the courage to try to make that vision reality. Perhaps because they were newer to civic life, they were not so awed by King Status Quo as the men and saw no reason for not doing what they could to improve the city housekeeping. They did not always realize, themselves, how far a single act would take them. Beginning often in a small study group, a movement would sometimes fan out to unexpected dimensions and far reaching implications. A project started by one group would win the support of many, for women had learned to work together and had realized that even without the vote they had power. As a result, the civic movements were usually the work of many clubs rather than of any single one. Often it is difficult to say, "This club did this or that." It is safer to point out some of the things accomplished, saying, "These things the women's clubs helped to bring about."

One of the earliest civic movements engineered by a group of women's clubs was the demand for public playgrounds for children, led by Mrs. Clara B. Arthur. In 1899 Mrs. Arthur read a paper before the Philanthropy and Reform Department of the Twentieth Century Club, urging the opening of public playgrounds for children of the poorer areas during the summer months. She called attention to the swarms of dirty, noisy children with no place for play except the streets and pointed out what other cities, notably Boston, had done with sand piles and vacation schools to meet this need. But in 1899 the civic interest of this club and of the Federation was still largely academic,

and so, although many individual members supported Mrs. Arthur, when the playground movement got underway in 1901, it was led by the Detroit Branch of the Council of Women, a national organization formed at the suggestion of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

The local members of the Council were the Equal Suffrage Association, the City Union of King's Daughters, the Women and Children's Protective Association, the La Tour Hive of the Lady Maccabees, the Mothers' Kindergarten Circle, the Women's Independent Voters' Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Mothers' Club of the Hancock School, Detroit Sorosis, Per Gradis, and the Detroit Woman's Club. The Council was an oddly assorted group, including as it did suffrage clubs, fraternal groups, church societies, and young mothers' clubs, but its very variety suggests how widely diffused was the idea that women have a part to play in the city as well as in the home.

The campaign was a tireless one. Making no headway in their attempt to have the city open a playground, the women decided to do it themselves. They went to the city council asking for the use of an empty city lot on Riopelle Street, but the grocers, butchers and saloon keepers who largely made up the council, laughed at the suggestion. One burly German pointed a fat finger at Mrs. Arthur, elegantly gowned and wearing her usual spotless white gloves, asking derisively: "Vat you wimmens know about boy's play? NO!" The women then went to the school board, which finally granted them the use of the Russell School yard and basement for the summer. Clara Talbot Hickey (Mrs. John), and a committee went from door to door asking for donations until they raised the \$1200 necessary to run the playground. They did the same thing the next summer, for the Board of Estimates again refused to consider "tying up" \$1200 in a "fad." At the same time they began to educate public opinion to the need for playgrounds, feeling that these should be lifted from the level of private charity and incorporated in the school system. They brought S. V. Tsaroff, noted leader in playground education, to lecture; they wrote letters by the hundreds and made speeches everywhere, hoping to break the general apathy. It was uphill work that would have discouraged any woman of lesser mettle than Clara Arthur, but she kept at it. At last in 1903 after a petition of fourteen thousand names had been

presented to it, the Board of Education allotted money for a playground and bought some equipment.* The city council approved the budget and as a supreme mark of their favor presented Mrs. Arthur with a box of candy in reward for her efforts.

Even while they were working for the playgrounds, women had been talking of the need for public baths. To realize this need one must remember that in 1900 many houses had no bathrooms or any facilities for hot water except the kettle on the kitchen stove. In boarding houses one bathroom often had to serve from ten to twenty persons. After some agitation by the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Public Works Commission was persuaded to include in its estimates money for a bath house. Mrs. Arthur, then president of the Federation, wrote the council that \$20,000 had been requested and urged approval of the item. The campaign was on, with the weight of two thousand club women behind it. Opposition to this "utter extravagance" was immediate and violent. The *Free Press* spoke bitterly of the city's willingness "to gratify the whims of some women solicitous as to dirt." Many urged delay: "The public bath house can wait until we have a well-defined scheme for civic adornment. A bath house built now might not fit into the scheme." Mrs. Helen Jenkins, ardent suffragist, had a presentiment of the delays in city planning when she answered this protest:

The Bath House is not meant as adornment. Let us have the modest bath house. In twenty years we can build another that will dovetail with the general decorative scheme.

There was endless wrangling in the council over plans and locations, but finally in 1907 the ground was broken on the site of the old reservoir at Russell and Erskine. In July of the next year the Clara Bath House, as it was christened, was opened. The forty showers, the tubs and two swimming pools were filled to capacity that summer with seven or eight hundred persons a day.

The next summer the Twentieth Century Club raised money for a swimming teacher and along with the Federation began to ask for a City Recreation Commission. The council took six years to see the need for this, but the women kept the issue before

* A history of the schools written in 1924, records simply: "In 1901 Supt. Martindale opened a playground in Russell School Yard."

the public until in 1914 the mayor appointed the Commission. One woman's vision of a playground had resulted in an important city commission that today operates four swimming pools and 173 playgrounds, but everyone realized that without Mrs. Arthur's work the idea would have remained a dream.

Clara B. Arthur was one of the great leaders among club women. Her ability was evidenced by the many offices she held: president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, of the Twentieth Century Club, and of the city and state Equal Suffrage Associations. She was chairman of many civic committees and active in nearly all movements of social progress. The success of her efforts for a playground and public bath did not end her efforts in that direction. In 1908 largely because of her efforts the Board of Education began to install showers in the schools, and for a number of years she continued to fight for more public playgrounds. In 1917 she wrote Edsel Ford, asking him to install a bath house and fumigating plant in the Ford factory in Highland Park. This perhaps was going too far. At any rate Mr. Ford's reply was noncommittal and the workmen continued to ride the street cars unfumigated.

The first civic work sponsored by the Twentieth Century Club was less controversial, but it brought beauty to the city and into the lives of thousands of Detroit children and started a work that is still being carried on. This was the home and school garden project started by Helen Louise Hatch in 1904, which, carried on by many enthusiastic members, grew to great proportions. The women bought large quantities of flower and vegetable seeds which they put up in penny packets to sell to school children. By 1918 they were distributing 200,000 of these to 26,000 children.

The committee did not stop there. Mrs. Mary Hamilton Grosvenor extended the work by going to the schools, forming little garden clubs in the different grades, and all through the summer teaching the children how to plant the seeds and care for their gardens. Hattie Carstens established model gardens at some of the schools. Soon several hundred acres of back-yard gardens were blooming over the city and children who had never been to the country were knowing for the first time the joy of digging in good earth and watching something grow from the seeds they had planted. To stimulate interest the women worked with the schools to arrange fall festivals and exhibits, offering prizes for the best

entries of flowers and vegetables and for the prettiest home gardens. They even arranged markets for the vegetables and got children to start bank accounts with their proceeds. The work took time and physical effort, but the returns in beauty over the city as drab little yards burst into bloom and in health and character building among the children were satisfying.

After 1915 the Home and School Garden Committee got the Board of Education to assume the salary of a director, and the newly-formed Recreation Commission to take over the actual gardening, while the women continued to buy and distribute the seeds and organize exhibits. Recognizing her interest and ability, the Board of Education asked Mrs. Grosvenor to become paid director of the garden work, and for the next twenty years she worked on this project. The many school gardens of the city today, officially named McGraw, Jeffries, and Grosvenor Memorial Gardens, commemorate the work of this Committee.

During the first world war this Committee expanded its work to include food conservation. As the gardens bloomed with squash and tomatoes, instruction in canning became part of the educational program. The Club gave the use of its building for garden displays, for canning demonstrations that led to the establishment of three community canning centers, and for lessons in gardening and in drying vegetables and fruit.

Much of the beauty that gardens and the planting of trees and shrubs have given Detroit is the result of women's work. Conservation had become an important issue even before the 1920's and most of the larger clubs had forestry or conservation committees that kept in touch with state and national legislatures, petitioning for the preservation of forest land and contributing toward reforestation of pine barrens. So active was the Twentieth Century Club in this work that Sylvia Allen, Hattie Carstens, and Anna Sterling Williston (Mrs. B. F.) were publicly thanked on the floor of the United States Senate for their conservation work. These committees also worked for the protection of the fine old trees of Detroit. The garden clubs that were organized in the second decade of the century planned the spring tulip and daffodil shows, planted five hundred trees on Seven Mile Road when it was opened, and made possible the establishment of the Garden Center on Belle Isle. When River Rouge Park was opened the women of the Michigan Horticultural Society were

asked to take charge of the planting. Women in the National Farm and Garden Clubs worked with Mrs. Henry Ford, national president for some years, to bring rural and city women together in such projects as roadside stands for fruit and vegetables and the Christmas greens market, where women from the country might find a market for their wares and the city women buy fresh vegetables and holiday decorations.

Sometimes the search for beauty begins on the lower level of doing away with the ugly. In 1925 a committee of the Twentieth Century Club urged a campaign against the rats infesting Detroit alleys. Some of the members protested. Civic-minded though it was, they said, the Club was not organized to chase rats. The difference of opinion persisted, and so the rat-chasers formed an organization that did not feel superior to this work, the Civic Pride Association. They went after the rats vigorously and since then in paint-up, clean-up, fix-up campaigns and through small neighborhood groups, have done effective work in developing civic pride in the appearance of the city. Several women's groups have been active in movements to abate noise and smoke.

Man's chief study, thought Samuel Johnson, should be man, not trees and flowers; and in the women's clubs the principal concern was for mankind, particularly the women and children whom society had not protected. One of the continuing interests of women with any social conscience has always been child welfare. There are many facets to this problem and women worked in many directions to see that children got as fair a start in life as possible. Part of their work had to do with the schools. A fine school system, they found, did not assure education for every child. Grasping parents and employees were too willing to take advantage of the average child's indifference to school. There had to be laws, women realized, that would regulate school attendance and so protect for the child his right to an education. Women's clubs worked for better enforcement of attendance laws and to have the required period of attendance lengthened. In 1907 children of fourteen, some of them only through the fifth grade, left school to work. It was the women of Detroit who talked, pleaded and argued with groups and with individuals until they produced a climate of opinion that demanded a change in law. The women were not the only ones to

see the need for better laws, but they were the ones who by constantly agitating the matter aroused public sentiment. In 1913 the Legislature raised the minimum age for leaving school to sixteen, although children of fourteen might be given working permits if their help was needed in the home. This led the women to thinking of ways to help the underprivileged children. The continuation school was the answer. As early as 1908 several women teachers sent abroad by the Board of Education to study European schools recommended upon their return a continuation school for commercial classes. The YWCA had set up classes about this time and urged employers to send their young girl employees once a week.

The women were not visionary idealists in the matter of children's work. They realized that youth must often take financial responsibility and they felt that the public schools should equip them with the means of earning a living. There should be a high school, they saw, where boys and girls who were not going to college could, in addition to a basic education, learn a trade or develop skills that would assure immediate earning power. The women of the Industrial School Association in 1857 had seen this need for vocational training and had done their best to meet it. Several times during the years they had tried to get the public schools to assume responsibility for this kind of training. In 1911 the Girls Protective League opened free vocational training classes and found jobs, when possible, for their "alumnae." Meanwhile the Federation of Women's Clubs had led the way in a public demand for vocational training as part of high school work. The insistence of club women, their frequent meetings with the council and the Board of Estimates helped eventually to the building of Cass Technical High School and its opening in 1913 with a fully developed program for industrial and vocational training.* Since then two other technical schools and six trade schools have been established, offering different kinds and different levels of training for those whose needs or ability the academic training does not meet.

The interest of women's clubs in the schools was not limited to compulsory attendance or vocational work. In 1911 when the average pay of teachers was a little over \$42.00 a month, they

* The present building was opened in 1922.

stood firm for better salaries, protesting the kind of economy that denied a raise to the teachers but allotted \$500,000 to a carnival and celebration given by one of the fraternal orders. They were up in arms when in 1912 Alice and Jeanette Guysi, supervisors in art, were not reappointed, because some of the school inspectors considered art a "fad." Their protests helped to reinstate both the subject and the supervisors. The music coteries of the Twentieth Century Club and the Federation of Women's Clubs fought constantly for music in the schools, insisting on the retention of music supervisors and encouraging the introduction of instrumental training for children.

The tendency of the Board of Education to economize on such things as music and art, while they made no attempt to break the strangle hold one book company had on the schools, led to increasing dissatisfaction. The Board at this time consisted of eighteen inspectors, one from each ward. Often they were uneducated men, attracted by the golden opportunity they saw in the contracts to be let out. In 1908 two club women succeeded in preventing the election of a saloon keeper to the Board; but that was not enough. A change was badly needed, and a small non-partisan Board, elected at large, seemed the solution.

Mrs. Laura Osborn led the fight for such a board. She is said to have written the first letter to the Legislature urging permissive legislation for large cities to establish five or seven-member school boards. The women of the Twentieth Century Club rallied to her call and aroused the support of all civic groups—men and women. Utilizing the organization of woman power built up in the 1912 suffrage campaign, the women began a campaign of door-bell ringing, letter writing, and speech making to arouse the public to the need for a change. In 1913 the Legislature passed a bill authorizing the small, non-partisan board for cities, but the opposition immediately questioned its constitutionality and introduced a second bill that would nullify the first. Mrs. Osborn then organized a band of Minute Men, men and women who rushed to Lansing to urge Governor Ferris to veto the second bill. This he did, and the court finally confirmed the constitutionality of the first bill. Then the bill had to be adopted by Detroit. The women wrote more letters, distributed circulars by the thousand and button-holed the voters to listen to their arguments. Their efforts were successful, and the election returns, Novem-

ber, 1916, showed a 5-1 victory in favor of the change. In the first school election after that, Mrs. Osborn was elected a member of the new seven-member Board she had advocated. On this she has served continuously ever since and was until 1949 the only woman member.

The work of the women for the new Board was more far-reaching than at first appeared. The advantages of the non-partisan Board were so many that it was soon apparent that a non-partisan city council would have similar advantages. To add weight to the argument a shocking scandal broke out in the unwieldy Common Council of forty-two members. The voters asked for a change. So well had the women done their work of educating the public in the campaign for the small Board of Education that the arguments against the ward system were remembered. Women worked with men and after a hard campaign the city voted in 1918 for a small non-partisan council elected at large.

Child welfare in the nineteenth century was pretty much the concern of the child's family. Only with the twentieth century was it seen that sometimes society must step in to protect helpless children. This attitude developed slowly. As late as the 1920's groups protested the regulation of children working on the streets, on the ground that such laws would interfere with parental rights. The so-called "street trades"—shoe-shining and selling papers, magazines, and other small items—have never come under the laws regulating work in shops or factories, and so, until there was some regulation, the streets were full of ragged children trying to earn a few pennies. Until 1923, children of any age might work far into the night. Many women deplored the situation but could make little progress in changing it. Not until a study in 1923 showed that over a hundred children between six and eight and over thirteen hundred between nine and twelve were working on the streets were they able to have passed a curfew law keeping children under twelve off the streets after ten o'clock at night. In 1925, still deploring the little children selling papers on street corners, representatives of many women's groups—the National Council of Jewish Women, the YWCA, the Polish Aid Society and a few others—with a number of men equally concerned over the problem—formed the Detroit Street Trades Committee to work towards stricter regula-

tions. It took the mutilation and death of a little girl selling punch cards from door to door to shock the city into action. After that tragedy, the Committee saw its work brought to fruition in December, 1933, in the ordinance that forbade boys under twelve and girls under eighteen to sell on the streets, or boys under sixteen to sell on the streets after 8 P.M.

With the problem of malnutrition the women had earlier success. In some of the poverty stricken areas children were often sent to school after a breakfast of coffee and cold potatoes or sometimes with no food at all. When both parents were working, as they often were, their children picked up a few cold scraps at home for lunch or had a penny or two to spend for candy or popcorn from the nearby vendor. The schools served no lunches. Occasionally, teachers provided a fund from their own money to buy milk for the neediest, but this cared for only a few. In 1911, the Jewish Women's Club (later the Detroit Section, National Council of Jewish Women) started a project that was to develop surprisingly. With the permission of Superintendent Martindale and the interest of Bella Goldman, teacher at the Bishop School, the women opened a kitchen and lunch counter in the basement of that school where at the morning recess they served soup, hot meat sandwiches, hot sweet potatoes, cookies, oranges, and bananas at a penny an item. If a child had no penny he was given one to drop in the box, and if the pennies did not cover the cost, the Club treasury took care of the deficit. The women hired a cook, but the rest of the work was done by volunteers who had a regular schedule. And serving from five to eight hundred children a day really meant work. The women apparently, were not afraid of work, for they soon extended the penny lunch system to another school, the Clinton, and continued the work for fourteen years.*

The penny lunch idea spread quickly to other women's groups, and for a number of years the women's clubs made a great contribution to the physical and mental welfare of the poorer children of Detroit. In 1912 the Federation of Women's Clubs served lunches for several months in the Morley School. Pleased with the results, they later undertook a bigger program. Mrs. Reba

* The women of the penny lunch committee were Ida Brown Krolik (Mrs. Henry), Mrs. Samuel Stearns, Lillian Bernstein Simon (Mrs. Charles), Mrs. Bella Olisheimer, Bella Goldman, and Emma Butzel.

Leonard, chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, got Mr. John Dodge to contribute a fund by which the Committee was able to serve lunches at Gershom Settlement and at the Clinton School. Later, in 1919, when Mr. Dodge increased his fund, the women served lunches at six or seven schools, as well as to the kindergarten children at the Gershom and the Franklin Street settlements. Mrs. Martmer used to make the rounds every day, delivering the milk and food to the volunteer women, who would serve it. The Review Club assumed responsibility of furnishing milk to several schools, and the Northwestern Women's Club provided fruit and graham crackers at the Everett School. In 1916, at Neighborhood House, the women served lunches to the children of the Wilkins and Houghton schools. In 1920 the Catholic Study Club began similar work in some of the parochial schools and the Women Principals' Club undertook a lunch program in the Capron School.

At that time some of these groups drafted a letter to the Board of Education asking it to take over a lunch program in schools where malnutrition was evident. When nothing was done the Northwestern Women's Club made a carefully controlled experiment to study the effect of a hot lunch on the child's school work as well as on his general health. At the end of the experiment they invited the Visiting Housekeepers, the Board of Education and the Department of Health to view the results. As did the penny lunches, this experiment pointed the way to a city campaign against malnutrition that led to eventual provision of food for the undernourished by the schools. In 1921 the schools began their nutrition program with \$20,000, which they planned to spend for lunches, while the women's clubs continued their work in the schools they had been helping. Dr. Palmer, chairman of the School Nutrition Committee, said at that time, "The present program is made possible by the pioneer work done by the women's organizations."

Outcome of this same interest in nutrition was the Housewives League, organized in 1912 by Edith Watkins Dunk (Mrs. Alfred O.), primarily to protest the high price of milk. Women knew that excessive cost limited dangerously the supply of milk in families with low incomes. Later the work of the League expanded to include other items.

Fighting malnutrition made women aware of the other health

problems. They urged the appointment of health officers in every county in the state and saw this accomplished in 1912. That same year the Federation of Women's Clubs was able to have passed a city ordinance requiring the wrapping of bread. Before this, bread had been carried about unwrapped in wicker baskets which were dumped on the sidewalks in front of stores. Even earlier some club women had seen the need for pasteurized milk and with the help of several doctors and some nurses from the Visiting Nurse Association had organized in 1906 the Babies Milk Fund. Stations were set up over the city where for small cost women might get pasteurized milk for their babies. When the Fund was reorganized in 1911 these stations also became clinics where the nurses gave free care and advice on the treatment of ailing babies. Women's clubs helped support this work until 1917 when the V.N.A. assumed responsibility for the clinical work, and the pasteurization of all city milk was required by law. Much later women's clubs fought for the pure food and drug act finally made law in 1938. In 1921 many of the same groups worked for the Sheppard-Towner Act which provided federal funds to match state funds to be used for maternal and infancy care.

A much later piece of health work has been the Cancer Detection Center for Women, set up in 1945 by the Federation of Women's Clubs. Here, without charge, women may be examined by women doctors. For eight years, one of the women doctors in the city generously gave her service as medical director of the Center, although her own private practice is large and time consuming.

As important as the child's physical welfare is his moral welfare. Juvenile delinquency has always been a problem, under whatever name it was known. By the twentieth century people were beginning to realize that this delinquency was sometimes increased rather than corrected by the court and jail experiences of young offenders. As early as 1902, men and women in Detroit with a clear sense of social justice had begun to ask for the separation of children's cases from the criminal courts. There was need, they saw, for a court especially set up to deal with juvenile cases, where the offenders would be regarded as wards of the state and entitled to the state's protection. A number of club women worked to have the necessary legislation for this

separation drafted and then promoted it. Outstanding in this promotion work was Lovicy Miner, Latin teacher at Central High School and chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Collegiate Alumnae, who brought the proposed change before many churches, women's clubs and civic groups. When the first law establishing a city juvenile court was declared unconstitutional, the women worked for new legal measures. After some delay, the Juvenile Court for Wayne County was established in 1907. Judge Hulbert, appointed judge of this Court in 1909, continued to invite the suggestions of civic leaders for its development.

Several women who had worked closely with him, Lottie Teichner Sloman (Mrs. Adolph), Mrs. Charles Casgrain, Agnes Stevens Farrell (Mrs. Percy), Mrs. Henry Sherrard, and Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens, decided to form a permanent organization. Already active in philanthropy, they saw that much work lay ahead to create favorable public opinion for extended probational work and for the provision of recreational opportunities for youth. The Girls' Protective League began with about thirty members and its membership grew rapidly. The dues of \$1.00 were low but provided a small operating fund. They lost no time in beginning their work. Persuaded that there should be investigation and follow-up of juvenile cases, women had urged that the Court appoint probation officers and had promised to pay the salary of Miss Ada Freeman, probation officer for girls. The League got the Thursday Club to assume the salary of a similar officer, Mr. Fred Lawton, for boys. When the Court assumed Ada Freeman's salary, the women for a time financed an assistant for her.

Seeing the danger of housing children, no matter how young or how trifling their offense, in the police station with the most hardened offenders, they pointed out the desirability of separate housing. To press their point, they rented a house on Larned Street where children under arrest or wanted as material witnesses could be detained, hired a matron, and ran the house at their own expense. Within a year the county saw its value and set up a juvenile detention home. It was the familiar pattern: the need, the realization of the need by a group of women, their direct action to meet it in a small practical way, and finally public assumption of the responsibility.

Juvenile courts may help the rehabilitation of the delinquent, but they do not strike at the roots of delinquency. Women realized that their efforts to protect children must go back to first causes. One of these was neglect. Many mothers, especially those deserted or divorced, had to work to support their children. This usually meant leaving the children alone. Naturally, some of these children got into trouble. There should be financial aid, women saw, that would allow mothers to stay at home to take care of small children. Aid of this kind would be more far-reaching than that of the free kindergartens, but it would also be more expensive. It was not easy to convince the voters of the necessity for this aid, but women's clubs worked hard, trying to show those opposed to the expense that this kind of aid would be cheaper in the long run than allowing the children to develop as delinquents and criminals to be supported at public expense. The public was apathetic until an actual case aroused their interest. One night, two days before Christmas, six women were brought in for stealing coal off freight cars. All had small children, and so the sheriff ignored his duty and sent them home to their children, ordering them to come back to court the day after Christmas. The lawyers of the railroad had no such humanitarian impulses and threatened to serve papers on the sheriff. Since they could not do this in the jail, the sheriff spent the night there. The publicity over this incident aroused the people to the need, and finally a mothers' pension bill was worked out. It took time to convince the lawmakers, but with an army of women working in Detroit, writing letters and addressing groups of all kinds, and some of them going to Lansing to interview the Legislature, mothers' pensions were finally established in 1913 in an amendment to the Juvenile Court Act.

Young unmarried women needed a different kind of assistance. To help those in trouble with the law, the Girls' Protective League and several other groups sent representatives into court every morning to save the girls if possible from a trial and to supply needed money and clothes. The League had from the beginning worked toward extending probation and in 1913 succeeded in having an act passed providing probation for all offenders between seventeen and twenty-one. This instituted the very desirable practice of using a probation officer to hear girls' cases. Women's clubs also worked to have the age of consent

raised from fourteen to sixteen, and were finally successful.

To strike at the roots of delinquency among girls, the club women undertook a variety of projects. In 1913 they submitted a dance hall ordinance to the council that would correct some objectionable features and helped to have it made law. Later they investigated the conditions on excursion boats and persuaded the owners to enforce certain restrictions. For many years they worked for better movies and to have children kept away from films like "Glorianna or the Dance of Sin" and "The Drug Terror," to mention two that were shown to crowds of children and adults during one week in 1915. So close has been the control of film companies that women were not able to accomplish all they hoped to, but that objectionable films have been eliminated as much as they have is in good measure the work of women's organizations. So many groups became interested in this problem that the Motion Picture Council, made up of representatives of different women's groups, was organized. In 1915 the Girls' Protective League opened a downtown office in the Boyer Building, with Miss Mary Hulbert in charge. Here for over twenty years women helped over one thousand girls a year with all sorts of problems.

As a counter attraction to the undesirable dance halls and cheap amusement places, women's groups undertook to provide opportunities for wholesome recreation. During the last decades of the nineteenth century groups of women had seen that young working women in the city needed help. In 1893 at the suggestion of Mrs. Grace Whitney Evans (later Mrs. Hoff), a group of women met to consider what could be done for "the improvement of the physical, social, intellectual, and spiritual conditions of young women in Detroit." A nation-wide panic was in full swing and many of the girls who had come to Detroit full of hope were now facing want. Mrs. Evans thought the time was ripe for the organization of a Young Women's Christian Association. The women agreed. They did not wait to make elaborate plans, but started in a small, sensible way by renting rooms on East Grand River Avenue, where they installed a director and opened a "Noon Rest," where for a nickel girls could buy a glass of milk and a sandwich. Here Detroit's YWCA was born. In 1904 the women opened a fine new building on Washington Boulevard, in which two years later they opened the first cafeteria in the

city. The Y offered classes, parties, and a place for meeting friends. Volunteer workers with their husbands sponsored midnight parties for theater ushers, chorus girls, and the "hookers up," as the young girls were called who helped the chorus girls in and out of their costumes. In 1912 the Y started the work with negro girls that was to lead to the Lucy Thurman Branch. About that same time, women at the Y took over from the Business Women of St. John's Episcopal Church, the Traveller's Aid work that had started years ago in the Young Women's Home and began visiting the stations to help girls arriving in the city alone.

Realizing that the lunch rooms and the housing facilities of the Y touched only a fraction of the 23,000 young working women in the city who might be helped, Grace Whitney Evans suggested a "factory union" of clubs which might hold devotional meetings, organize classes and arrange parties. The plan was started as the Grace Whitney Hoff League and flourished for twenty-seven years. Mrs. Evans later married John J. Hoff and went to Paris, but every year she sent back a substantial check for the Federation's budget. When the first world war started, the YWCA opened on the East Grand Boulevard the Industrial Center for women and girls in the factories on the east side and set up classes and a recreational program.

Other groups helped also. The Twentieth Century Club used to give dances and Sunday afternoon readings for working girls and their escorts, and the average attendance of two hundred showed that the young people enjoyed them. The Protective League opened the West End Club for factory girls in the West Grand Boulevard area, where after work they could find companionship and recreation. The next year the League opened a similiar center on the east side and persuaded the Board of Education to open Newberry School in the evening as a social center for young people.

As research in the psychology of human relations advanced, women learned the need of getting hold of the maladjusted girl before she got into serious trouble and of removing her from a bad environment. In 1924 the Girls' Protective League opened the Girls' Service Club, a combined diagnostic and treatment home for maladjusted girls, which it still manages; and the League of Catholic Women opened Barat House, a similiar home for wards

of the courts, also still in operation. There are now many more homes for different groups of maladjusted or delinquent girls than the casual observer realizes. They are for small groups, meant to be homes and not institutions, and so are not labelled for the passer-by. Most of these are financed by the United Foundation and by the organizations that place the girls, but almost always there is back of the home a group of women responsible for running it and determining its policies.

Through work in the Girls' Protective League, the Home of the Friendless, and the Woman's Hospital, women saw the unhappy lot of the unmarried mother in court and the unfair treatment often accorded children involved in divorce or illegitimacy. They felt there should be in the court an understanding person, preferably a woman, with the interest of women and children at heart. Their efforts to establish such a person aroused a good deal of public interest and led in 1917 to the establishment by Wayne County Circuit judges of the office of the Friend of the Court, whose duty it is to investigate and recommend action in all divorce motions and bastardy cases, to enforce alimony orders, and to protect children's interests. So valuable has the office been that there is now a large committee of men and women to assist the Friend of the Court.

From court proceedings to prisons was a logical step, and the women took it. Early in the second decade of the century, the Legislative Committee of the Twentieth Century Club had begun a study of penology with an eye on the deplorable condition of Detroit's House of Correction, which was also used by the state as the woman's prison. Several organizations began to work for a new and separate state reformatory and in 1916 were influential in getting the Legislature to set aside appropriations for a woman's prison at Okemos. In 1920 conditions in the House of Correction got so bad that the mayor appointed a reform board.

As often happens when reform or a "clean-up" job is needed, a woman was for the first time placed on the Board. This woman was Dr. Mary Stevens, well-known physician and advocate of all women's interests. She was also an authority on prisons, having studied penology for some years and attended prison conventions in this country and abroad. When the superintendent and the deputy resigned under fire a few months after she had been made acting chairman of the Board, she quietly assumed

the office of superintendent over twelve hundred male and female prisoners and served for six weeks without cost to the city. During this time she lived alone in the superintendent's quarters, at night locking up in their cells the trustees who had been on duty during the day. Her husband had offered to stay with her, but she refused his company, wishing to show the world that a woman could handle an emergency in any job given her as well as a man could. She proved her point, and when she left the Detroit House of Correction the morale among the inmates was better than when she went in.

She herself came out of the experience more determined than ever to see that the city got a new House of Correction. She already had the support of several women's groups, and with them she worked everywhere to arouse public sentiment and win support for a new one. The frequency with which the papers of the period refer to speakers asking the women's clubs to help win popular support for the prison, attests the power of these clubs in this movement and others. In 1922 the council authorized the construction of a new House of Correction and began to consider plans. Katherine Hill Campbell (Mrs. Henry W.), at that time a member of the House of Correction Board, and two other commissioners were sent over the country to study modern prisons. She, with Dr. Stevens, was responsible for much of the thinking that went into the planning of the new buildings. Not all the improvements they specified as desirable were included, but the cottage plan on which they were most insistent was adopted, which was a big forward step in Detroit's penal housing. So valuable was Mrs. Campbell in this work, that when the new House of Correction opened in Plymouth in 1928 she was made superintendent of the women's division and served ably in that position for some years.

Women's work with the Juvenile Court and the rehabilitation of women and girls inevitably led to the conviction that women police would be able to handle some of the cases better than men did. An early Detroit record shows that a Miss Daisy Godfrey was appointed to the police force in 1849 to work among delinquent negro girls, but this early recognition of the value of women police was not followed up. When women police were suggested in 1918 the idea was ridiculed. But at last the insistence of the Girls' Protective League, the Twentieth Century

Club and the Children's Aid led to the appointment of a young woman, a college graduate and trained social worker, as consultant to the police force. Her help proved so valuable that a group of women won the promise of Commissioner Inches to ask the council for policewomen. In 1921 a woman trained in police work in the East was brought to Detroit to organize the work of the fourteen newly-appointed policewomen. Even then Mayor Couzens hesitated to create a permanent women's division. But women's organizations pressed the point, and the next year the Women's Division of the Police Department was created, with Eleanor Hutzel as its director with the rank of fourth deputy commissioner.

The decision to use women police was a happy one. Women are the natural protectors of youth and have often an intuitive approach to the problems of the boys and girls whose cases they handle. Policewomen in Detroit are required to have a college degree or its equivalent, and to have specialized or had experience in social work. This high requirement goes a long way toward assuring a fine type of woman, and the background in social work introduces a point of view often previously lacking. One of the valuable contributions of the Women's Division has been the preventive and educational nature of its work. By patrolling parks, amusements places and beer gardens, and checking hotel registers, they often uncover potential trouble in time to save young offenders from wrong doing. Their work with the Recreation Commission to set up neighborhood leisure time programs is a deterrent to delinquency, as is their bringing together of social agencies and proprietors of commercial amusement places for discussion of problems. Working with other groups they have often been instrumental in suggesting and getting passed city ordinances regulating young children in theaters and the registration in hotels of minors.

In 1940 Miss Hutzel was made chief of the Women's Division, an appointment which gave her ranking police status. During the twenty-five years of her administration, the work of the Division gained the respect of the men police, the cooperation of the social agencies and a fine national reputation. So great was this, that one of its members was sent by the United States government to set up a similar organization in Korea. Through its chief, the Division worked closely with women's organizations,

looking to them for cooperation and counsel in developing youth services. Since Miss Hutzel's retirement in 1948 there have been several changes in the Division. The women's work previously centralized in Police Headquarters has been decentralized, as the women have been scattered out among the precincts. A still greater change has been the handing over of much of the youth work to a newly created Youth Bureau. This is not an extension of the Women's Division, but a separate bureau under a man police inspector. The fifteen women police assigned to it are trained in social work, but so far the same training has not been required of the men who serve in the Bureau. Policewomen still patrol, handle sex crime cases, help to locate missing girls and women, and work with cases of family neglect.

One group of women's organizations has attempted little in civic reform, but has contributed greatly to the city and the country in another way. These are the patriotic societies which are primarily interested in preserving historic records and monuments and in creating among young people a love and respect for the great past of the country. The earliest of these was the Mount Vernon Society organized in 1891, the oldest women's patriotic society in Michigan. The work of this group began much earlier, back in the 1850's, when two women having vainly tried to interest the federal government in the purchase and restoration of Mount Vernon, George Washington's home, decided to appeal to the women of the country. The women responded and formed the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association with a regent in each state. Hannah Blake Farnsworth (Mrs. Elon) was the first Michigan regent and served for nineteen years. The women of Detroit started to raise money for this work in 1858, and all in all contributed \$7,000 toward the purchase and restoration of Mount Vernon. In 1891 to make their financial support more certain they organized a Detroit group, the Martha Washington Coterie, but at the second meeting they changed the name to the Mount Vernon Society, and elected Anna Denie Pitkin president. After Mount Vernon had been restored, the Society decided to broaden its aims and changed its name again to the Historic Memorials Society. Through the years this Society has contributed to the preservation of other historic mansions, including Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, and has given generously toward the building and furnishing of the Detroit His-

torical Society Museum. Between 1941 and 1950 it contributed \$250 a year for restoring MSS in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library.

The first Detroit chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Louisa St. Clair Chapter, was formed in 1893. At the organizational meeting were Mrs. Charles Larned Williams, Mary Blanche Wetmore, Mrs. Eugene Gibbs, Mary Elizabeth Trowbridge, Mrs. Orlando M. Poe, Catherine Sibley Hendrie, Mrs. Rodney Mason, and Mrs. Wm. Fitzhugh Edwards. Among the ten others entitled to be charter members was Helen Pitts (now Mrs. A. Maxwell Parker); she and Madeline King McMath (Mrs. Francis) are now members of sixty years' standing. Five years after its founding the Spanish-American War broke out and the national organization was asked to send nurses. The Louisa St. Clair Chapter selected and equipped twenty nurses whom they sent to the front. One of these, Ella May Tower, died in this service. This was the beginning of the Army Nursing Corps. In 1908 the Chapter presented a flag made in Detroit from imported French silk to the battleship, *Michigan*, which was christened by Carol Barnes Newberry, daughter of Detroit's Truman Handy Newberry, then Secretary of the Navy. In 1910 the group began an important work among children in forming school clubs, later known as the Junior American Citizenship Clubs. These were encouraged particularly in elementary schools where the percentage of foreign born children is high. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. calls these clubs an important influence against juvenile delinquency. Important for future citizens have been the markers on such historic sites in Detroit as the grave of Colonel Hamtramck in Mount Elliott Cemetery and the spot where the first American flag was raised in Detroit in 1796 and the planting in 1926 of the thirteen elms, commemorating the thirteen original states, around the Institute of Arts. In 1940 Mrs. Henry Joy gave the Chapter the deed to the old Newberry home on Jefferson, a fitting repository for its many valuable records. There are now nine D.A.R. chapters in metropolitan Detroit.

In 1896 the General Alexander Macomb Chapter of the National Society United States Daughters of 1812 was organized at the Woodward Avenue home of Mrs. Alfred Russell, who became its first president. In their early meetings many stories were

brought forth from old manuscripts in attics or from still living relatives of experiences of Detroiters during the War of 1812, and so saved them for posterity. One of the achievements of this group was raising money for the bronze monument of General Macomb in Washington Boulevard, which was unveiled in 1908. In addition the Daughters of 1812 have contributed to historic memorials, have marked historic sites in Michigan and in Detroit, and have preserved valuable records. One Detroit woman has served as president of the national organization.

Ever since Cadillac and his Italian born aide de Tonti joined the Indians on the shores of the straits, Detroit has had a cosmopolitan population. Today fifty ethnic strands are interwoven in the city's cultural pattern, three of them, German, Italian, and Ukranian, representing each over 100,000 persons, and one, the Polish, 350,000. For most of these groups the peak of immigration came before the end of the first world war. By 1920 nearly fifty percent of the population of Detroit were foreign born or had foreign born parents. Housing was inadequate and many groups, unable to understand the customs or speak the language of the country to which they had come, were confused and suspicious. There was much that women could do to help.

The YWCA saw the need very early. In 1918 the women of this organization suggested an International Institute for Detroit, such as had been set up in a few other large cities, but they were given no encouragement by the city or the Council of Social Agencies. Lack of funds has seldom stopped women who have a goal, and so the YWCA set up in 1919 a small information center in a foreign marketing district where women might without embarrassment ask questions and get help. The next year, with a paid worker from the national YWCA headquarters, this center was moved to an old coach house on the corner of Withere'll and Adams. This was now called the International Institute, and the work started for women expanded to include the whole family. There was little in the center but the desk of the young woman director and a fireplace, but it was a magnet for foreign groups. Men needing help with naturalization papers, women troubled about their children exposed to strange influences, and young people resenting parental attempts to control their social life all came for help. The work was endless but challenging, and the director and her volunteer assistants never visibly faltered.

Several times the location of the work was changed, but wherever the Institute was, there developed a program of group activity, community projects and personal service helpful to thousands of foreign born and their children.

In 1934 the two YWCA groups, the International Institute and the Women's Industrial Center, joined forces on East Grand Boulevard as the International Center. Here under an able director, a full activity program developed more fully the idea of sharing with the community the cultural heritage of all nationality groups.

In 1921, the Louisa St. Clair Chapter of the DAR initiated a very valuable work among some of the foreign born women. About the time of the end of the first world war one of their members had conceived the idea of a place where foreign women might bring some of their beautiful handiwork for sale. The idea took hold and eventually a little shop in the Women's City Club was rented for these "Cottage Industries." In the meantime the idea of a club had developed, for the motivation back of the industries had been friendship fully as much as material gain. There were women of education and culture in the foreign groups, the women of the DAR realized, who should be helped to make contacts with cultural activities in Detroit and with women of similar tastes and interests. The result of this thinking was the Cosmopolitan Club, made up originally of twenty-five members, ten of them from the Louisa St. Clair Chapter and the rest representing eight different nationalities. The club grew rapidly. The members, all of whom were expected to speak English, felt at home in the small nationality groups within the general framework, and quickly made friends in the common activities. A kindergarten, staffed through the kindness of Merrill-Palmer School, took care of the children during the club meetings. Its members, many of them women like Mrs. George Kemény, wife of the Hungarian poet laureate, had much to contribute and much to gain. In costume parties, festivals, exhibits, drama groups and a story telling league, they were helped to feel at home and to take their place in the life of Detroit. The continuing activity of the club today shows that the plan succeeded.

Other women's organizations helped in various ways to make the newcomers feel at home. The Federation of Women's Clubs had its Department of American Citizenship for training foreign

born women and its yearly party for "new citizens." The League of Women Voters set up a special training program, and got the help of leaders among the foreign groups to direct the work. Mrs. Aurelio Ciminelli of the Italian group and Mrs. Louis Hromadko of the Czechslovakian group worked among their groups, teaching the women how to prepare for citizenship and how to use the ballot. Mrs. Emily Laskaris, who came to Detroit in 1919 when she was seventy, was a strong influence among the Greek women, urging them to become citizens.

Women's organizations among the foreign born also helped. Getting accustomed to new ways and a strange language is never easy, but for the foreign born women it was harder than for the men, because the women, kept at home by tradition and by large families, made fewer outside contacts. Organized groups developed slowly at first, for foreign women were not used to the freedom of American women. The Poles got together first in singing societies of men and women. Then, as the women were left alone on one side of the room while the men discussed men's affairs on the other, the women decided that clubs just for women would be pleasant. Sometimes the women got together in raising money to build a church. Used to finding the center of community life in the church, they turned naturally to church sodalities or altar guilds for friendship and a feeling of security. Fraternal groups also brought women together as women came quickly to recognize their benefits.

From these early groups women gained some knowledge of American ways and a chance to develop their own powers. Gradually leaders emerged, women able and willing to help their countrywomen make adjustments. Women journalists developed women's pages in the foreign newspapers. The National Croatian Society had by 1925 a very useful woman's page in its official publication. Italian and Polish women lawyers, psychologists, teachers, and business women were very generous in helping their co-patriots with citizenship papers and all sorts of problems. Some women led the way in forming groups like the Polish Aid Society, which grew suddenly to settlement proportions, and the Roumanian Women's Club. Practically every nationality group in Detroit has now a woman's club planned to extend the welcoming hand to newcomers and to give help in the gradual Americanization process.

But Americanization was not the only thing needed. Some women saw that if the Old World traditions and customs were to be preserved and passed on to the children, a conscious effort had to be made. So cultural clubs developed. German singing groups, the Cornelia and Esperia Clubs among the Italians to keep alive the great cultural past of Italy, Club Prosvita among the Ukrainian women, and many others.

From cultural clubs, the women of the nationality groups turned, as earlier Detroit women had, to more civic minded clubs. The Polish women are active in many phases of city life. Able leaders in business and philanthropic circles have encouraged them to continue their education and to enter business, professional and political life. Some women have organized mother's clubs, business women's groups, professional auxiliary groups, and political clubs. When at the beginning of the first world war an influential Italian woman urged her sewing circle to get into civic affairs, she was called "the Home Breaker," but since then Italian women have formed many clubs with interests outside the home.

Nearly all the women's clubs in the nationality groups participate in community philanthropies, but what they do for the development of woman power is more important. In club work many women of foreign background have become strong leaders, even to the extent of winning the first woman's seat on the city council. The fact that a recent encyclical encouraged women to take their place in public affairs has destroyed in Catholic groups the lingering vestiges of Cardinal Gibbons' advice fifty years earlier and has been a strong impetus in the growth of interest in civic matters among these groups.

After the second world war the need for an independent International Institute was far more generally realized than it had been in 1918, when the YWCA had first urged it. Generously the YWCA now helped set up the new organization. Men and women worked together for a new building, and in 1951 the Institute opened its doors. In its halls are now treasured some of the beauty brought from many nations. Here programs of dance, drama and song give Detroit an idea of countries not their own. To Americans of all backgrounds the International Institute of Detroit offers a meeting place where they may come to understand and appreciate the different cultures underlying the

Detroit of 1953.

The International Institute is now a civic organization under the direction of a Board of men and women. It must be remembered, however, that for the first twenty years it was a women's organization into which went the labor and thought of many volunteer women and staff members. Today the executive director is a woman, and most of the activities are in the hands of women staff members.

Women are still working with and for Detroit's new citizens. It was a woman who chaired the committee organized in 1947 by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to work for the passage of a bill that would admit a number of Displaced Persons, and many women's groups—YWCA, church groups, Polish Aid Society, and Council of Jewish Women—are helping these persons to make adjustments.

The largest women's club in Detroit is neither philanthropic nor educational. To it belong most of the civic minded women of Detroit, but the club, though interested in civic affairs, takes no part in controversial matters. This is the Women's City Club, with a membership of seven thousand, the largest women's club of its kind in the country. Its history began in 1919 when some women, no longer needing a club as a cultural stimulus, wanted the kind of club life men had enjoyed for years. They wanted a downtown club with a dining room, residence rooms, and a swimming pool. The club was a post war venture, planned by women who had worked together in other clubs, and who had become successful in business or professions, or whose husbands had.

It started in the Girls' Protective League in March, 1919, when a motion was made that the president appoint a committee to formulate plans for a women's club. The idea snowballed rapidly. The committee rented space in a good location on Bagley Street and in 1920 opened their rooms with a membership of two thousand. Since a woman's signature was not then legally valid, the permit for alterations was issued in the name of the architect, husband of Mary Chase Stratton, the Club's second vice-president. Despite this protective discrimination, the women showed themselves exceedingly responsible. Under enthusiastic officers and a treasurer of remarkable acumen, the finances of the club were put on a firm foundation and a bond drive was so successfully managed that the erection of the present building

was possible in 1924. By 1926 the membership had spiralled to 6,500. So sound was the organization and the financial planning that the Club weathered the stock market crash of 1929, the bank holiday of '33, the lean years of the Depression and the second world war without defaulting on a single bond. In 1952 the mortgage was burned on the appointed day. To any question as to women's business ability, the smooth running of the seven-story building of the Women's City Club provides an irrefutable answer.

No account of the contributions of women's organizations would be complete without mention of their war work. Women first organized for this work in November, 1861 when the first Soldiers' Aid Society in the country was formed in Detroit. Active workers were Isabella Duffield Stewart, Mrs. Theo ROMEYN, Mrs. John Palmer, Mrs. Bela Hubbard, and Mrs. John Owens. In the Michigan Soldiers Relief Society, organized with two sets of officers, the women leaders were Mrs. S. A. Sibley, Mrs. H. L. Chipman, Mrs. N. Adams, Mrs. George Andrews, Mrs. W. A. Bulle, and Miss Lizzie Woodhams. Through these two organizations and the Michigan Branch of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, thousands of packages were sent to the front and large sums of money collected for relief.

All out war time activity was not again demanded of women until first world war. Then women threw themselves unstintingly into Red Cross work. They knitted everywhere, even in church, turning out scarves, sweaters, and socks until "knit one, purl one" became the universal pass word. Mrs. Henry Joy gave the use of Newberry House on Jefferson as Red Cross headquarters, and many club units worked there. Mrs. William Power was one of the many active women directing the work. Other women served in canteens, or learned to repair their motors in the motor corps unit and placed themselves on call for service. Cars were less dependable then than now and fewer women drove their own cars. Mrs. John Ford passed her examination but prayed daily that her tires would not blow out.

In 1940 the need for war work came again. There was hardly a woman's organization that did not contribute. Members knitted, drove trucks and jeeps, made and served sandwiches in U.S.O., helped in hospitals, gave blood, took and taught courses in First Aid and Civilian Defense, and organized block groups

for air raid shelters. All women's clubs made their war effort their chief concern. A woman who had headed the Utley Red Cross unit during the first world war now directed the large unit of the Women's City Club, of which the knitting group alone numbered nearly seven hundred. Inglorious as war is, the record of the achievements of women's clubs in time of war has been a glorious one.

No account of club activities can be static. Clubs wax and wane and their aims and perspectives shift with the needs of the city and with the times. Neither can any account of clubs short of an encyclopedic listing be complete. There are in Detroit today over three thousand women's organizations. A list of these clubs and the work they do for Detroit would be ample evidence that women's clubs have not become self-centered. One group of less than fifty in 1952 provided eleven sight seeing dogs for blind Detroiters. Yet the work of many groups is of less civic significance than were the accomplishments of women's clubs during the first two decades of the century. Reasons for this are difficult to see. Is it that the city is now so vast that it is hard to see civic needs? Has the development of the United Community Services and the all inclusive Torch Fund lessened the impulse toward private charities? Or are so many women now employed that they have less time for civic responsibility and turn to a club mainly for relaxation? Whatever the answer, women's clubs are still a force to be reckoned with. The power is still there, although too often activities crowd out action. "If the world ever sees the time," said Matthew Arnold, "when women shall come together purely and simply for the good and benefit of mankind, it will be a power such as the world has never known." Women's clubs have been a power for good in the social development of Detroit. With encouragement, able leadership, and a membership conscious of civic responsibility, women's clubs can still make life in Detroit more worth living for more people.

CHAPTER 7

Artists

A GREAT INDUSTRIAL CITY is not the most favorable climate for the development of art. Creative genius that in another environment might produce great sculpture or painting is likely to be turned to the purposes of industry. Yet Detroit has had its artists, men and women. There have always been persons in Detroit to whom art in one form or another has been important. Many of them have seen the beauty of industry and have drawn inspiration from the surging life of factories and automotive plants. Among the artists of Detroit are a number of women who have achieved distinction in music, painting, ceramics, writing and other forms of art. Some of these have won recognition beyond the limits of the city and state. All have given beauty to leaven the industrial mass that is Detroit.

Women have always been transmitters of culture. Within the home their creative power often expresses itself in the children they have borne and shaped. Talents they were not given the opportunity to develop, they often nurture in their children. In more obvious ways they encourage within the home circle the enjoyment of music, literature and other arts. Within the community they encourage the arts because they believe that art should be a part of community life. Not all women do this, of course, but Detroit has been fortunate in the number of women who, many of them not creative themselves, have believed in the arts, encouraged them, and enjoyed them. These women, too, have helped to develop a fine cultural atmosphere in a great industrial city.

From the beginning there were music and dancing in Detroit.

French mothers sang their old lullabies and the children danced to the strains of "Alouette." At the garrison there was always a drummer, and the records of Ste Anne's speak of an early chanter. Some of the French had brought their violins or fiddles, and if these were not available for dancing, jews harps or bone clappers usually were. If not, some pretty girls sang the accompaniment. The English taught the French girls new songs, "John Peel" and "Prettye Bessie." In 1763 the soldiers of the garrison gave what was probably the first instrumental concert to celebrate peace between the French and the English. In the 1790's there was a harpsichord in Detroit, and when Solomon Sibley brought his bride here from Ohio in 1803 she brought a piano with her. This instrument created quite a sensation, and people listened, an on-looker wrote, "with a mixture of curiosity, awe, and pleasure." It was doubtless that same combination of emotions that led the Indians in the War of 1812 to steal the pipes of the organ that Father Richard had brought to the town and take them into the forest to blow upon. With the coming of the Irish and the Yankees, the girls learned new songs, "The Galway Piper" and "Yankee Doodle." Then the Germans came, with a love of music that has been a great contribution to the city. By 1860 German bands were appearing on the streets "as regularly as spring house cleaning." Many of the musicians had been trained by good teachers in the Fatherland, and they introduced classical music to Detroit. Through their informal singing groups they made the German airs popular.

By the middle of the nineteenth century musical entertainments were popular in Detroit. Fireman's Hall, on the corner of Jefferson and Randolph, was opened in 1851 with a concert by Theresa Parodi. Sometimes local talent was presented, as in the Philharmonic Concert at the Russell House in 1859, which featured Mary Buel, Mrs. Barnebas Campau, a Miss Howard and a Miss Hammond in the opera *Anna Bolena*. Everyone who had a piano was buying "The Detroit Schottische" by Adam Couse, the first Detroit composition to become popular.

During the 1870's European travel became popular, and Detroiters began to go abroad, eagerly seeking contact with the art and music of Europe. Many women came back enthusiastic over the music they had heard in European opera houses and eager to bring more music to Detroit. Some of them began to study music

and a few of the more talented even gave voice and piano lessons.

In 1881 four young women formed a piano quartette that met regularly in the McMillan music room—all the best families had music rooms at that time. These four, Grace McMillan, Josie Lewis, Hannah Hammond, and Virginia Ferguson, kept up their interest, even after they were married, and a few years later, adding Elizabeth Stridiron, Charlotte O'Flynn, Harriet Nichols, Elizabeth Wetmore, Mary Andrus, Winifred Poe, Clara Trowbridge, and Alexandrine Sibley, they organized a musical club that met Tuesday mornings in Mrs. Luther Trowbridge's music room. From this simple beginning came the Tuesday Musicale, officially organized in 1885. This club was one of the first groups to bring outside artists to Detroit. Ever since their first concert, given in 1887 by Miss Fanny Bloomfield, the Tuesday Musicale has presented one or more artists every year to Detroit audiences. Their work in promoting musical interests and in helping young musicians has been noteworthy. In the 1940's they encouraged the formation of the Women's Symphony, a talented group of women who present at least one yearly concert.

One of the women who did much to encourage art in Detroit was Clara Dyar. Miss Dyar was a woman with a fine educational and cultural background. She was, moreover, a colorful individual with a gift for organization. She was a great "joiner" and there were few cultural or humanitarian movements in which she did not have a part. Occasionally her humanitarian instincts led to excessive sensibility, as when, not content with supporting antivivisection, she joined the anti-fur society and at her death left a fund to feed the pigeons in Grand Circus Park. For all that, her interest in the fine arts was very strong. In 1907 she and Lillian Edson Baldwin formed the Chamber Music Society. At first the group was small and met in homes, but with Miss Dyar's constant encouragement they began to give an annual course of concerts. They also gave free concerts to civic institutions such as the jail and the Juvenile Detention Home. Although the group no longer exists, it was responsible for some very fine music in the city.

There have been many women's musical organizations in Detroit. The women's clubs often had music coteries in which members found an opportunity for self-expression and which provided good programs. Organizer and leader of the Twentieth

Century Club Musical Coterie was Mrs. William Carlyle Barbour (Hattie Rood Grace) known over the country as a concert artist. She helped to organize the Detroit Musicians League and was its president for some years. She started community singing groups in the settlements, and fought vigorously for the extension of music instruction in the public schools. Among the Polish women the Halka, formed in 1908 by some girl singers—Marie and Agnes Yaroch, Leona Kowalski, Angela Koscinski, and Sophia Nowakowski, gave concerts and operettas in Detroit for over forty years. The girls paid for a good teacher out of their dues and insisted on high standards in all their productions. One year they won first prize at the Polish Singers' Contest in Cleveland. One of the oldest groups of women singers is the Madrigal Club formed in 1915, today one of the best women's choruses in the city. Another active organization is the Music Study Group of about two hundred Jewish women who sponsor two junior groups and a choral group within their own membership. In some of the large industrial plants there are fine choruses of young women who find in the ministry of music a release from the tensions of a busy city.

In 1916, largely through the interest and work of Detroit women, the Michigan Federation of Music Clubs was organized in Detroit, with Mme Lilla Ganapol its first president. Most of the active member clubs of the Federation are women's music groups, and they do a great deal throughout the state to create interest in music among young people and to encourage talent. The youth concert given annually by the Detroit Area, Juvenile Division of the Federation, attracts the participation of many choirs, choruses and string ensembles. In the 1953 concert over 250 young people took part. From the money raised by this annual concert scholarships have been given to many promising young musicians for a summer at Interlochen, Michigan's well known music camp.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Detroit had begun to talk of a symphony orchestra. In the initial movement for the symphony, women were the leaders. The first step was a meeting at the home of Mrs. A. H. Sibley, to which came women whose names already headed the boards of various civic or charitable organizations but who were not too busy to work for this part of the city's cultural life. They were Mrs. J. N.

Corey, Clara Dyar, Mrs. Charles Hodges, Mrs. Henry Joy, Mrs. Olin Johnson, Mrs. Sidney Miller, Mrs. Frederick L. Stevens, Mrs. Fred Alger, Jennie Stoddard, and Frances Sibley, a descendant of the Mrs. Sibley who brought the first piano to Detroit. Led by Mrs. Joy, who made the first pledge, each of these promised to give or raise \$100 to start a symphony fund. From that point on men and women together worked hard to build a symphony for Detroit, and the first concert was given in 1914 in the Detroit Opera House with Weston Gales conducting.

Realizing that there were many persons, young people especially, who needed help to get the full value of symphony music, the Detroit Symphony Association in 1922 brought to Detroit a young woman, who was to act as director of the extension work in music. Her work was outstanding. At Saturday morning concerts for children she would explain the instruments and by explication and repetition make the children understand theme and movement and recognize recurring motifs. Parents who took their children to Orchestra Hall often learned as much as the children did of the meaning and the structure of the symphony they were to hear the next week. For a number of years she translated to women's clubs and civic groups the aims of the Detroit Symphony and established a broad base of popular understanding.

Back of the Symphony stand men of wealth, large business and industrial groups, and the Women's Association. Twenty-five years ago this Association grew out of the Music Division of the Federation of Women's Clubs, which had from the beginning shown a keen interest in the development of the Symphony. Now numbering over one thousand members, the Women's Association of the Symphony conducts an educational campaign and assumes part of the financial responsibility. During the Depression the women raised \$25,000 to pay for children's free concerts, and again in 1943 they financed children's concerts, thus giving children an opportunity to hear the Symphony and at the same time providing employment for the musicians. When for several seasons there was no Symphony and the future looked uncertain, the Women's Association kept on working to raise an endowment fund that would tide the musicians over similar periods in the future. Between 1951-53 they pledged themselves to raise \$300,000. Much of this sum they raised, as women always have, through social functions—silver teas and fashion shows—but

part of it came from the door to door canvassing of a hundred women or more. Collecting money for any cause, no matter how worthy, is unpleasant work. Yet these women have cheerfully undertaken the task, and while collecting they have spread a knowledge of the work of the Symphony and a feeling of good will toward it. This \$300,000 is only a part of the total needed, but raised by one thousand women, it means a healthy broadening of the base of support for the Orchestra.

In remembering the small gifts of many people, it is well not to forget the large gifts made often to the symphony by several women of means. The Detroit Symphony, and the city, owe much to the willing generosity of Mrs. John Newberry and other women like her.

One music group of Detroit that has won wide recognition is Pro Musica. This is a group of men and women organized for the study and presentation of the best in modern music. During its twenty-six years it has so consistently stood for the non-traditional and brought to the city so many fine programs that the contribution of its many women members to the cultural life of Detroit must be mentioned.

There are many women who as individuals have given or brought music to Detroit. Among them are Lilla Ganapol, a forceful pianist who with her husband trained many Detroit musicians, and several well known teachers of voice, among them Emmy Gareissen Pease (Mrs. Marshall), Jennie Stoddard, Harriet Story McFarland (Mrs. Maurice) and Mme Columba Arata. In the Detroit Public Library, the E. Azalia Hackley Memorial Collection of Music and Drama honors a pioneer negro music educator and concert singer who lived in Detroit for many years and taught at the Clinton School. Later Mme Hackley travelled throughout the country teaching, organizing choral groups, raising scholarship funds to help young musicians, and working to revive genuine negro folk music. She died in 1923. Among women contributing to the music life of Detroit today are many artists, a few of them in the Detroit Symphony. One of the most distinguished of Detroit's women artists was for a number of years concert pianist for the Symphony. Many of the teachers of music have given the city programs of astounding magnitude. Mrs. Emma Thomas trained choruses every year of several hundred children, and when Admiral Dewey visited the city she organ-

ized a chorus of over a thousand children. Clara Starr used to put on unforgettable productions of Gilbert and Sullivan at Northwestern High School, and later when she was supervisor of music in the public schools her enthusiasm inspired teachers and students to great heights. Several women have done remarkable work in directing festivals. In 1938 a woman was the force back of the production of *Aida* with an all negro cast. Another woman chaired the committee responsible in 1950 for the Bach Festival in which fifty-seven music groups participated.

Interest in painting developed later in Detroit than interest in music. During the last half of the nineteenth century a few of the wealthier citizens began to collect paintings, and there was evidently enough interest to justify an art exhibit in Fireman's Hall in 1853 and again at the Freedmen's Fair put on by women in 1865. In 1876 the celebration of the Centennial in Philadelphia brought the first real display of European art to this country. From that developed an interest in city art museums. The first suggestion of an art museum for Detroit came from William H. Brearley, reporter for the *Evening News*. Individuals were interested, but arousing the enthusiasm of the city was not easy. When Mr. Brearley first broached the idea in 1880 through the columns of the paper, he got only one response, an enthusiastic letter from Frances Parsons Edwards (Mrs. Fitzhugh). Mr. Brearley's next step was to find a group of women to help him implement his plan.

There were women in Detroit interested in art and intelligent about it. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone had been taking parties of young women to Europe for several years, and a number of women from families of wealth had travelled abroad. Mr. Brearley decided to form a women's committee that would plan a preliminary loan exhibit to arouse interest in a permanent collection for Detroit. With masterful strategy he asked some prominent men of the city each to name seven women, hoping from these suggestions to form committees. Each list included the name of Isabella Duffield Stewart, evidence that the men knew ability when they saw it, for there was hardly a good cause in the city for which Mrs. Stewart had not worked. At the organizational meeting held at the home of Mrs. James Joy in 1882, several committees were chosen. All except the Finance Committee were made up of women, although Mr. Brearley's friends warned him

that working with all those women would turn his hair white. The innumerable delays and discouragements the committees faced are a story in themselves, but finally the building on Larned near Bates built to house the exhibit was finished. The pictures were hung in record time, and on September 1, 1883, just as the last stepladder went out of the back door, the front door opened to admit the first visitors to the Art Loan Exhibition.

It was a fine exhibit, representing well the different schools of art. Mrs. Lucy Crapo-Smith had spent three months in Europe at her own expense collecting works of art from European artists who hoped in this way to sell some of their work, and Mrs. Storrs Willis (widow of Barnabas Campau) had gathered treasures in this country on loan or on commission. Among the few Detroiters exhibiting were two women, Hattie Leonard and Annie Pitkin. Clara Avery, who was familiar with the art galleries of Europe, had spent months preparing a catalogue of 173 pages listing 4,851 works of art. The preparation and printing of the catalogue cost \$2,000, but its sale brought in twice that amount. Detroiters poured in to view the exhibit, sometimes at the rate of two thousand a day, but the expenses had been so great that as the end of the month approached there was still a deficit. To remedy this Mr. Brearley suggested bringing the Hazeltine Collection from Chicago to the Exhibition and extending the time.

The Hazeltine Collection was a good one and available for only \$500, but it contained seven pictures of nudes. Remembering how Detroit clergymen had preached against the viciousness of any such display, the ladies shook their heads at the idea. Mr. Brearley took three ladies to Chicago hoping to convince them that the pictures would not offend. When they still objected, he had the Collection sent to Detroit where the whole committee might see it. The ladies gazed in disapproving silence until suddenly, looking at Bouguereau's "The Nymphs at the Bath," Mrs. Stewart exclaimed, "Why they are dolls. Life sized figures would be objectionable but when they are so small the effect is quite different." Almost in relief the ladies agreed. After all, Mrs. Stewart was the Rev. George Duffield's daughter and should know. And so the collection came to Detroit and the thousands who flocked to see it made up the deficit. Detroit's interest in art had really been aroused.

But the hardest work lay ahead, The Loan Exhibition had



BACK FROM NEWPORT

***Bridget (unpacking a statuette of the Venus of Milo):
Howly Virgin! But it's both arrums I've broke aruff the
craythur, and divil a thrace av thim anywhere!***

aroused interest, but raising money for the building and the endowment of a city art museum called for herculean effort. Senator Palmer promised \$10,000 if the additional \$40,000 needed was raised. Men and women worked hard against indifference and opposition, and finally, just as the deadline date was reached, the sum was raised, with Mr. James Scripps and Mr. Brearley each contributing half of the nearly \$5,000 needed to put the campaign over the top. In acknowledgment of the work they had done, Mr. Palmer in the final list of contributors allotted \$1,000 of his gift to each of six women: Jean Stansbury Holden (Mrs. E. G.), Mrs. E. C. Skinner, Mrs. Crapo-Smith, Sarah Webster Sterling (Mrs. T. J.), Isabella Stewart, and Alexandrine Sheldon Willis (Mrs. R. Storrs). When the building at Jefferson and Hastings was nearing completion, Clara Avery offered to contribute \$1,500 a year for two years toward the salary of a director, and Mrs. Scripps gave \$25,000 toward general support. At last in 1888 the Detroit Art Museum became a reality.

When the city took over the Art Museum in 1917 and interest in a new building developed, women again played a part in promoting the idea. The City Art and Design Committee of the Twentieth Century Club under Margaret Matzen Helbig (Mrs. August) and Helen Louise Hatch planned lectures and art programs to stimulate attention, and most of the women's clubs did a good deal to arouse public interest in the proposed building. Since the erection of the Detroit Institute of Arts on Woodward Avenue women have worked in the Founders' Society to attract members and gifts. Although the endowment of the Institute is less than it should be in a city of Detroit's size and wealth, it has had some generous donors, among them Anna Scripps Whitcomb (Mrs. Edgar), who inherited the interest of her parents in the city's cultural development. Mrs. Whitcomb and her husband made many gifts to the Institute, and when she died in 1953 she left it a large and valuable collection of paintings.

That women should so ably have arranged the loan exhibit that led to the Art Museum was not surprising, for the turn of the century produced some very fine women painters. It was not expected at that time that girls whose fathers could support them would work for pay. Girls who needed money or strong minded girls bent on a career took positions or went into a profession. Some of the others sat at home hoping soon to be married. In

between were many young women whose talent and ability needed an outlet. For some, volunteer philanthropy was the answer. For those talented in music and art European study beckoned. There were many men in Detroit at that time with money to send their daughters to Paris, London or Rome, and many did. The result was a flowering of genuine artistic ability.

In 1903 Lillian Burk Meeser, wife of Dr. Spencer Meeser, minister of the Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, called together fifteen friends to suggest an art society that would stimulate and at the same time promote recognition of their work. This was the genesis of the Detroit Society of Women Painters, the oldest organized art group in Michigan. During the fifty years since then most of the Detroit women seriously engaged in painting have belonged to this group. In 1930 its name was changed to include sculptors also. The early members gave a great deal of time to painting. Many of them had their own studios: Mariam and Eleanor Candler, Lillie and Della Garretson, Katherine and Alexandrine McEwen, Isabelle Lothrop (Mrs. Charles Lothrop) and others. These they opened for small classes and private exhibitions. In 1904 the Society held its first public showing, in which nineteen members and a few guests exhibited over a hundred pictures. Seldom were all the members on hand for an exhibit, for many of them went abroad frequently. In Europe they were invited to hang their pictures in the galleries of Munich, Vienna, Venice, Rotterdam, and Warsaw. Isabelle Lothrop, Anna Reig, Della Garretson and Alice Guysi all had pictures accepted by the Paris Salon. Katherine McEwen achieved distinction with her murals in Christ Church at Cranbrook and in Los Angeles.

One of the most outstanding of this early group was Letta Crapo-Smith, granddaughter of Governor Henry Crapo of Michigan. She had had the best training available in this country and spent a number of years studying and painting in Japan, Sicily, France, Holland, and England. She is the first Detroit woman to have had a picture accepted by the Paris Salon, and her "The First Birthday," painted in 1902, hung for a time in the Louvre. It is now in the Nurses' Home in Flint. Other examples of her work are in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., and in many fine private collections.

So widespread was the reputation of the Society of Women

Painters that they were asked to exhibit in New York City. Esther Longyear McGraw (Mrs. T. A.), president from 1918 to 1929, arranged the details of the first exhibit in 1928, which was financed by a group of women, not painters themselves, who for several years contributed to the Society as sustaining members. In 1932 a second exhibit was given in New York with twenty-nine women artists hanging their work. Only once since the first showing in 1904 has the Society skipped its annual Detroit exhibit, and since 1928 it has also exhibited every year in the fine arts galleries of the J. L. Hudson Company.

Many members of the Women Painters and Sculptors in Detroit have exhibited in the best known galleries over the country and many of them sell their pictures. One artist, Mrs. Matie Robinson, a Detroit Grandma Moses, has sold four hundred pictures in the last ten years, between her seventieth and her eightieth birthdays. Mrs. Thurber (Alice Hagerman) during her active painting years sold over three hundred paintings. So impressed was a French art critic with one of her canvasses exhibited in New York that he wrote her up in the *Paris Review*. Another woman who put five children through college largely through her art work, is internationally known for her flower pictures, many of which are hung in this country and in Holland. One of the most outstanding of the women artists working today is a well known portrait painter, under whom many Detroit artists have studied. She is the only woman to have won the gold medal given by the Scarab Club. Another woman has won recognition for her ceramics. In 1942 she opened her own manufacturing plant and markets her ceramics and sculpture in Detroit, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Four women have been honored by having their pictures bought for the permanent collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts: Letta Crapo-Smith, Della Garretson, Katherine McEwen, and Mildred Williams.

There are many other groups of women painters, of which the Palette and Brush Society is probably best known. Within the last decade many people have turned to painting as a hobby or recreation and small painting groups have sprung up all over the city. The women in these groups may never have a one-woman show, but their painting helps to free the spirit and enlarge their vision, which is the function of all art.

At the organizational meeting of the Society of Women Paint-

ers in 1903, Mary Chase Perry of the Pewabic Pottery was made an honorary member of the Society. Again in 1932 and in 1951 she received invitations to become an honorary member of the Society of Women Painters and Sculptors. Each time she accepted, although in 1951 she expressed surprise that it should be necessary to renew the invitation so often. The Painters were a little embarrassed over the mistake, but it was a tribute to her that three generations of artists should recognize her achievements and wish to include her in their membership.

Mary Chase Perry Stratton (Mrs. William B.) began the study of glazes as a young girl and never lost her love of experimenting with the firing process which produces the variations in flow and color. She has made some thrilling discoveries, finding again the beautiful blue and copper of old oriental glazes, the secrets of which had been lost for centuries. Particularly distinguished is her iridescent metallic glaze. In the Pewabic Pottery, started first in a barn studio on John R. and Alfred, she makes the beautiful tiles and mosaics so much in demand in churches and other buildings, where the architect seeks a combination of color and texture that only ceramics can give. One of her most important works was the tiles made for the shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D. C., a monumental project undertaken by the Catholic Women of America. Fittingly a woman artist was chosen for this work undertaken by women to honor a woman—the Virgin. Architects called it the most ambitious project in the field of ceramics as applied to architecture ever to be undertaken in this country. In Christ Church, Cranbrook, in the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Detroit Public Library, the Women's City Club, St. Paul's Cathedral and the Union Guardian Building of Detroit are other examples of her work, which, Charles Freer said, will be remembered long after Detroit factories are forgotten.

Out of this lively interest in the arts came the Arts and Crafts Society, organized in 1906. The Fine Arts Society was formed that same year by some men and women interested in cultural programs, but the Arts and Crafts promised to give more than programs. It began with a small group of artists: Mary Chase Perry, William Stratton, an architect whom she later married, James Calkins, her partner in the Pewabic Pottery, Katherine and Alexandrine McEwen, whose studio on Jefferson was one of the

homes of the Women Painters, Clara Dyar, one of the founders of the Fine Arts Society, Helen Plumb, and George Booth, whose ample means supported a very deep interest in art. The idea behind the Society was to have a center where crafts could be carried on, where a small shop would display and sell this work as well as the handiwork of European craftsmen, and where exhibits of the arts and crafts would raise the tastes of those not familiar with this kind of simple beauty and foster appreciation of the arts.

The Society was always a group of men and women, but women were a very important part of the organization, especially in the early days, when many of them devoted their whole time to the project, arranging exhibits and sometimes going abroad to bring back collections. One woman member arranged an exhibit of the Jensen silver she bought for the purpose in Copenhagen. Several women of means contributed generously to the project: Mrs. George Booth, Mrs. Keith McLean, Mrs. Tracy McGregor, Mrs. William Clay, Mrs. John Dodge, Mrs. Edgar Whitcomb, Sarah Sibley and Julia Peck. In 1916 the Society moved to quarters at 47 Watson Street that had been designed and built for them. Here in the workshops, the galleries, the charming patio, the lecture halls and the little theatre, Detroit was given an art center that for many years stimulated interest and opened new vistas. Here for the first time many had glimpses of Mexican, European, and Oriental art in textiles, ceramics, glass, embroidery and hand wrought silver and copper.

From its inception the Society owed much to Helen Plumb, its director for many years, who supplied the knowledge and driving force needed for its success and the kind of courage that aspired to big things. It was she who suggested to the American Association of Museums that a traveling exhibit be arranged for American cities from the International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art held in Paris in 1925. The idea was approved and she was made a member of the commission appointed to arrange the exhibit. She spent many weeks in Paris studying the Exposition and selecting the material to be brought to this country.

In 1928 the Arts and Crafts building was partially destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt, but in rebuilding, emphasis was put upon the art school that had been developing. Interest in a school had

been shown as early as 1911 when the Detroit School of Design was opened on Jefferson and Rivard with Marion Loud, Detroit artist and later head of the art department of Liggett School for twenty-five years, as dean. By 1928 this school had closed, but another art school was growing up in the Watson Street building. Artists had now begun to set up their own workshops, and other shops were offering the fine craft work once available at the Arts and Crafts, and so in 1931 the building of the Arts and Crafts Society was turned over to the art school which now occupies these quarters.

Later, in 1936, a woman established an arts and crafts center for children in Children's House on West Kirby. She brought a young woman from Toronto to direct the arts and crafts and painting classes that were to be open without charge to any children who cared to register. The school, privately financed, ran for about ten years and provided valuable art experience and training for a number of talented children.

The history of drama in Detroit goes back to 1798 when the first dramatic performance was given in the old Council House near the river. Since then a few Detroit girls have made good on the professional stage or in the movies. Mary Boland, who used to sort transfers for the Detroit United Railway around the turn of the century, made her first appearance at the old Lyceum; Genevieve Hamper was a Detroit girl. These and others may have added to the luster of Detroit's name in professional dramatic circles, but more important for Detroit have been the women who through their talent have delighted Detroit audiences and at the same time raised the standards of taste in dramatic art.

The Little Theater movement grew out of the Arts and Crafts Society. Helen Plumb was an ardent supporter of the movement and began early to encourage amateur performances. As more groups became interested, the College Club remodelled the barn on its property on Peterboro Street near Woodward to serve as a theater, and Miss Plumb also directed plays for the women of this group. As interest grew she got the Arts and Crafts to engage Sam Hume, of California, as director of the theater work. The three years preceding the first world war that he spent in

Detroit were glorious ones for the theater-minded. Interest in drama increased and the artistic performances of the amateur groups set new standards. Many teachers who participated in the performances at the College Club and in other groups took back to their schools new ideas for the type of plays high school students could produce. There began to be a change in school dramatics, a shift from the old fashioned three-act comedy of trite situations and stock characters to artistic one-act plays. Several women teachers did much to lift the standards for school dramatics throughout the city.

There were other drama groups. The most important, and the only women's group that has lasted to the present, is the Theater Arts Society. This was formed in 1910 at the home of Lillie Whitney Larned (Mrs. Charles Larned). Mrs. Larned's brothers owned and ran the Whitney Opera House, so she came naturally by her interest in the theater. A few others, Nellie Peck Saunders, Jane Murfin (Mrs. James Murfin) and Paulette Keena, shared her interest and helped form the Society in which women interested in drama as an art still present for a limited public some very good theater. The Drama Coterie of the Twentieth Century Club became so enthusiastic that they urged the Club to build its own theater. In the American Association of University Women, the Supper and Theater Party, presenting plays written by members, became an annual tradition in the 1920's and '30's. The Shakespeare Study Club, organized by Mildred Bolt, head of the Detroit School of Expression and a popular teacher of dramatics, put on annually a Shakespearean play, which Mrs. Bolt coached and produced. There were good drama groups. Among the Italians, a talented woman, who was trained for the stage in Italy, has produced many Italian plays. The Players of the Urban League included several talented women actors.

The woman whose name ranks highest among those who have contributed to the stage in Detroit is Jessie Bonstelle, who first came to the city in 1911 with a summer stock company. For fifteen years she came back to the old Garrick, bringing such actors as Katherine Cornell, Alice Brady, William Powell, Guthrie McClintock, Jessie Royce Landis, Ann Harding, and Melvin Douglas. Plays from Broadway were few in Detroit, and people looked forward to the arrival of the Bonstelle Company with its

good plays well acted. Hundreds of Detroiters never missed a performance. Bonnie, as they called her, became a part of Detroit, with a strong following of faithful admirers. She was a woman of high ideals who tolerated nothing shoddy in content or performance in her theater. An excellent actress herself, she also knew how to train others, and students in dramatics came from all over the country to work with her. They often went on to fame. It was commonly and truly said in Detroit that "God made the heavens, but Bonnie made the stars."

A number of leading citizens had urged her for some time to come to Detroit and establish a theater, and in 1924 she did so. The opening of the Bonstelle Playhouse in the former Temple Beth El on Woodward was the culmination of the Little Theater movement in Detroit. There were professionals in her company, but she also used her student actors. She believed in giving young people a chance, knowing that the theater's best hope for continuing development lay in a constantly flowing stream of fresh talent. She invited art students to try their hand at stage settings and she occasionally produced plays written by local talent. Detroit took her to its heart and gave her work wholehearted support. In turn she thought of her theater as a civic enterprise that could do much for the city in developing a responsibility for the arts and an interest in good drama. There was never anything questionable in the plays she produced. Theater men told her that her dramatization of *Little Women*, the first ever given, would be an utter failure, but Bonnie played it to crowded houses. She identified herself quickly with city needs, giving benefit performances to raise money for the Juvenile Detention Home, for the Zonta scholarship funds, and for other civic causes. Through its lifetime the Bonstelle Playhouse delighted Detroiters with artistic performances and developed in many an appreciation of good plays and good acting.

Popularity is a fickle mistress, and some of the drama groups might have been expected to disappear in the course of time, but the decline of the first Little Theater movement in Detroit was sudden and rather sad. When the Arts and Crafts building burned in 1928, the theater was not restored, partly because of the expense, and partly because more room was needed for the Society's growing Art School. In 1932 the College Club theater went out of existence as the Depression years forced that Club

to give up its building and write *finis* to a very pleasant chapter of club life among college women in Detroit. The Twentieth Century Club had become so enthusiastic over the value of non-commercial theaters in Detroit that in the late 1920's it embarked upon the ambitious but ill advised project of erecting a small theater as an addition to their building. The Depression caught the Club with heavy mortgages and a declining membership. In the end, as a result of a combination of causes, this Club lost all its property and never regained its former strength. The death of Jessie Bonstelle in the fall of 1931 was a grievous loss to the theater and the city. Had she lived, by sheer force of her personality she might have pulled her theater through the financial strains of the next few years, but the loss of her leadership at this difficult time caused the closing of the theater in 1933.

When in 1951 Wayne University Theater took over the Bonstelle Playhouse, many Detroiters rejoiced that the building that had once meant so much to the city was again to be the scene of good theater. The careful work of the students who labor there now over settings, costume, makeup, and lines recalls the efforts of Bonnie's student actors to give Detroit artistic theater and not merely the latest popular hits.

The dance, closely allied with early drama, is one of the last art forms to be popularly accepted. A woman in the Physical Education Department at Wayne University has done much to make the city aware of modern interpretive dancing. Her choreography and her well trained dance groups have given many a new understanding of what can be done with the dance. Throughout the city in the public schools, in recreation centers, and in private studios, women are training young people to find beauty in the dance as an art form. Children's dancing schools may not present the dance as creative art, but two women among those who have taught children to dance in Detroit stand out especially. Mrs. Baker's Dancing School opened around 1840, and here for several decades boys and girls were shown how to waltz and to make graceful bows and curtsies. The present generation remembers Annie Ward Foster, who for most of the first half of the twentieth century helped awkward youngsters achieve grace and ease.

As writers, Detroit women have ranked well. Detroit can claim no great woman writer—the truly great among men or women are few—but it can point to a number of women who have been successful in creative writing and to many whose research publications have won high praise.

The two earliest women writers claimed by Detroit are hers by courtesy only, both of them having left Detroit before they began to publish. The first of these was Matilda Stanbury Kirkland, who came to Detroit with her professor husband in 1836. While the professor was busy with real estate transactions, Mrs. Kirkland did most of the teaching in the Female Seminary. They left Detroit before 1840, having in the meantime spent some months in rural Michigan, but the Michigan experience gave Mrs. Kirkland material for two novels, *A New Home, Who'll Follow?* and *Forest Life*. In New York, where the couple settled after leaving Detroit, Mrs. Kirkland met the literary lights of the day—Margaret Fuller, Edgar Allan Poe, and William Cullen Bryant—all of whom praised her work. The other could-be Detroit writer was Emily Mason, sister of Michigan's first Governor and once a very important figure in the social life of Detroit. After her brother's death, Emily returned to the South, her childhood home. At the close of the Civil War she wrote *Southern Poems of the Confederacy* and a popular life of General Lee. Later in Paris, where for fourteen years she conducted a girls' school, she continued to earn money through her writing.

Two of the first women known to have written in Detroit wrote verse. Winifred Brent Lyster, wife of young Dr. Henry Lyster, never thought of herself as a writer; but standing on the street one day in 1862 she watched the Michigan soldiers march off to war. Deeply moved, she went home and wrote the words of the song, "Michigan, My Michigan," to the familiar tune of "Maryland, My Maryland." Remembering her father's teaching that a woman's name should appear in print only twice during her life, on the occasions of her marriage and her death, she published the verse without signing her name. Only when it was claimed by someone else did she come forward as the author. Toward the end of the century Richard Mallich had a very similar song written to the same tune published under his name. It is less martial in spirit than Mrs. Lyster's lyric, and extols the peace time beauties of Michigan. This is the version taught school children as

Michigan's official song, and the song books list Richard Mallich as author, ignoring Mrs. Lyster's claim that the original idea and words were hers. The other writer was Lois Bryan Adams, publisher of the *Michigan Farmer*. Miss Adams was interested in poetry as well as agriculture, and in 1862 published *Sybelle and Other Poems*, but these have sunk into oblivion.

In the late nineteenth century newspaper work offered women a wide field for creative writing. Many Detroit women of the period gained an enviable reputation as columnists and feature writers. In 1880 Mrs. C. W. Hamlin (Marie Watson) wrote for the *Detroit Free Press* the series of articles later published as *Legends of Detroit*, and Pruella Janet Sherman, feature writer for the *Evening News* for eighteen years, won acclaim for her articles on spiritualism and on the Baconian cypher. In 1900 the newspaper women of Detroit organized as the Detroit Press Club, only later adding the word *Women's*. It was such a distinguished group of women that in 1904 a New York publication, the *Journalist*, devoted the leading article of one issue to it, printing photographs of some of the members and saying in the closing paragraph:

It is doubtful if there is another organization in the country which has as many authors and poets among its membership as the Detroit Press Club.

Later, as the women of the press became more occupied with journalism and had less time for creative writing, and as more women outside the profession began to write, the Club broadened its qualifications for membership, no longer restricting it to journalists, and changed its name to Detroit Women Writers' Club. Under this name it is an active force today in promoting good writing.

As novelists, women in many places and periods have reached a high plane of excellence. The insight into human motivation and the clear understanding of character that women often have are most important characteristics of a novelist. Several Detroit women have achieved success in this field. One of the earliest was Mrs. Bela Hubbard, who published *The Hidden Sin* anonymously in 1886. This livid title was probably cause in itself for anonymity. Tradition has it that Mrs. Hubbard wrote a second novel

published with similar secrecy, but it cannot be traced. Mrs. Martha L. Rayne published frequently between 1867 and 1899: *Jennie and her Mother*, *Fallen Among Thieves*, *Against Fate*, *Her Desperate Victory*, *Pauline*, *Gems of Deportment*, and *What Can Women Do?* The last four were published in Detroit.

Alice Bowen Bartlett, columnist of the *Detroit Journal* and first president of the Detroit Press Club, was probably the best novelist of this early group. Able as she was in her career, she chose to write under a man's name and was known to the literary world as Arnold Birch. Her four novels were well received, and the last was translated into Danish: *Until Day Breaks* (1877), *A New Aristocracy* (1891), *Spirit of the Inland Seas* (1901), and *Mystery of the Monogram* (1904). The title of a biography of Mrs. Bartlett, *Woman of the Century*, indicates the esteem in which she was held. Electra Sheldon, who began her literary career as magazine editor, wrote two novels late in the nineteenth century, *The Clevelands*, and the very moralistic *The Maine Law Is the Inebriate's Hope*.

Today Detroit has a number of women who are publishing constantly. Their novels, short stories, poems, and articles appear in scores of magazines all over the country and are translated into many languages. Some of their work has been used on the radio and on television and some of it has been transcribed into Braille.

Several women who rank high in the field of fiction in this country are Detroiters. One is a novelist, probably the city's most outstanding writer, who already has five novels to her credit. The first novel of another Detroit woman was selected a few years ago as one of the monthly selections of the Literary Guild. Several other women have written and are writing novels of distinction. At least two Detroit women have won the Avery Hopwood award at the University of Michigan for excellence in the field of fiction. Three or four women have made a place for themselves in the ranks of the who-done-it's. Mary McMahon Richart (Mrs. Charles E.) achieved the Detective Book of the Month list a few years ago, and several others have published detective stories that have been well spoken of.

In books for children and teen-agers women often do excellent work because of their close understanding of children. One of the earliest writers for children was Clara Doty Bates, who published in the 1870's. Her books were illustrated by her sister,

Mrs. H. I. Finley. Today several women are writing children's books. One of the most charming is a series being written and illustrated by a young woman who in her books on bugs, birds, and mammals gives children a fascinating introduction to the world of nature. A Detroit woman was in the vanguard of writers of books for teen-age girls. In 1912 she published the first of the popular *Alma* series. Today one of the foremost writers in that field is a Detrouiter who puts out each year an historical novel for teen-age girls. Her books are published in London as well as in New York, and are all translated into French, German, and Swedish.

Many of the women novelists do outstanding work in the field of the short story, and there are also a number of short story writers who work only in that field. Mrs. Frances Nichols established an early record by winning a prize of \$1000 for a story. Mary McMahon Richart published short stories in scores of magazines and her work was translated into several languages, particularly often into Danish. The work of the outstanding short story writer today in Detroit, if one can be picked out, has been published in seventy-five magazines, been translated into fourteen languages, been transcribed into Braille, and been used frequently on radio and television programs. She recently received fan mail from South Africa. This is perhaps a record for Detroit women writers, but others are approaching it.

Play writing has been a popular form of art in Detroit, perhaps because the keen interest of women in little theater groups has offered a chance for production. Many women in numerous dramatic circles have written plays that have been produced by their own or other groups. Mrs. Maxwell Parker, whose first play, "The Singing Blackbird," written when she was thirteen, is now in the Archives of Constitution Hall, has written twenty-three plays, all but two of which have been produced. Several other women have written a dozen or so plays.

Many Detroit women, professional writers and others, have turned to poetry to satisfy their creative impulses and have published much verse. In 1905 Alice Bartlett published a volume of verse, *Birch Leaves*, that sold two hundred copies the first day. Frances Nichols also wrote verse, and organized a poetry workshop that is today one of the strongest divisions of the Women Writers' Club. A number of poetry groups in the city

stimulate interest in the writing of poetry. In 1933 a young Detroit woman won the Avery Hopwood award for "distinguished work in poetry." Another woman, twice hailed as "poet laureate" by the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, has won wide recognition as Michigan's outstanding woman poet. Other younger women are winning recognition. One recently had a poem accepted by *Poetry Magazine*. Publication in this little magazine is to the poets what acceptance by the *Saturday Evening Post* is to writers of fiction. Other women add to the enjoyment of many by their ever-ready verse and occasionally reach a high level of achievement.

In the field of non-fiction women have done excellent work. Many have chosen to write of Detroit. Electra Sheldon's "Childhood Memories," a short account of life in Detroit in 1820, is a valuable source of knowledge of that early period, and her *History of Early Detroit*, published in 1856, was one of the first histories of the city. Clara B. Arthur, the great suffrage worker, told the story of that movement in Detroit up to 1912 in *The Advancement of Women*. Helen Keep and Agnes Burton collaborated in a *Guide to Detroit* in 1916; and two sisters, Harriet and Florence Marsh, teachers in the public schools for many years, wrote a *History of Detroit for Young People* in 1936. In that same year Agnes Deans and Anne L. Austen published *A History of the Farrand Training School for Nurses*. One of the teaching sisters at Marygrove College published in 1928 an account of early education in Detroit and in 1948 *No Greater Service*, a history of the IHM Sisterhood at Monroe.

Other women have written from the fulness of their knowledge in various fields. Mrs. Ella Wilson was well known for her articles on bird life. So versed was she that she became a lecturer for the Audubon Society. Esther Longyear McGraw (later Mrs. Fred T. Murphy) combined her artistic ability with her skill in flower arrangements in planning *Flower and Table Arrangements*, illustrated with sixty plates, all her own work. Emllyn Gardner, who initiated the folk lore work at Wayne University, published *The Folklore of Schoharie County*. More recently Mrs. Adele Weibel, who as curator of textiles in the Detroit Institute of Arts, gave Detroit for years the benefit of her sensitive appreciation and deep knowledge of the subject, published a comprehensive history of textiles covering over two thousand years.

Many women are doing short articles for a number of magazines. One woman publishes regularly articles on Michigan, and another writes on gardens, publishing nearly every week in the *New York Times*. Women scientists and educators in all fields are publishing the results of their research. These may not be called creative writing, but they can utilize a great deal of creative ability.

If all the books and articles written by Detroit women could be gathered together, they would not make a library, but they could well be the beginning of a Detroit Room, and might show how far women have come since the days of the very first libraries, when books by women were not placed on the same shelves as books by men.

Detroit has today many women artists in all fields, some of them recognized far beyond Detroit. As artists in music and painting they are helping to create in their circles a desire for beauty, and as teachers they are opening a world of beauty to many. On the small stages of the Little Theaters of Detroit, playwrights, actors, and producers present the play as an art form, not a commercial vehicle. Many writers of fiction, verse, and non-fiction add to the aesthetic pleasure and the knowledge of their readers. In the arts and crafts, workers in ceramics, metals, wood, and textiles in many studios create beauty in different forms. The contribution of these living artists cannot be specified here, but it should be known. By following concert programs, art exhibitions, and book lists, and by hunting out the many studios and private galleries where women paint, weave, and do fine work in ceramics and metals, the reader can learn much of what the women artists of Detroit are doing.

Crusaders

WOMEN HAVE ALWAYS been crusaders in causes that appeal to principle. Lysistrata tried to weld the women of Athens into a crusade against war, and Eleanor of Aquitaine rode at the head of her women in the Second Crusade to the Holy Land. Women fight on both sides. There is no cause which men and women support so strongly as one for a principle in which they believe. Several times in the history of the United States, they have been roused, and the crusading spirit has swept across the country. Driven by a strong moral purpose, they have fought a good fight, seldom letting momentary defeat lead them to lose faith in the cause for which they stood. In three crusades, two of them largely women's movements, the women of Detroit have courageously battled for their principles.

The greatest of the crusading movements of the nineteenth century was the anti-slavery movement that swept over the North before the Civil War, culminating in Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. In the eighteenth century there had been a few slaves in Detroit, Indian as well as negro, for the Indians near the Fort often sold their Pawnee captives to the French. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited the bringing of slaves into Michigan Territory, but owners continued to hold their slave property in Detroit until well into the 1830's. The slaves in Detroit, however, were too few ever to make slavery important as an issue involving economic, political, or human rights.

Attempts of Southern owners to recapture escaped slaves did more than anything else to arouse a definite anti-slavery sentiment. Slavery in Georgia was one thing. To see negroes who had

established a home in Detroit dragged back to the owners from whom they had escaped was quite another. This Detroit found out when, in 1833, Kentucky officials attempted to arrest as runaway slaves a negro couple by the name of Blackburn who had lived in the city for over two years. First to take action was a negro woman of Detroit. When the couple was taken to jail for over Sunday, she got permission to visit Mrs. Blackburn's cell and there exchanged clothes with her so that Mrs. Blackburn could leave the jail in her place. The next day when an attempt was made to put Mr. Blackburn on a boat to return him to Kentucky, negroes rescued him and got him across the river to Windsor. The rioters were arrested and there was strong feeling on both sides. Thus aroused, men and women began to see slavery as a crime against human beings, as a degradation of human dignity that right-minded people should not endure. Out of this incident grew the Detroit Anti-Slavery Society, organized in 1837 under the leadership of Shubael Conant. The members expressed their sentiments in unequivocal terms in their constitution:

The object of this society shall be the entire abolition of slavery in the United States of America and the elevation of our colored brethren to their proper rank as men.

From this time on, Detroit became an important station on the Underground Railroad that helped thousands of negroes to escape to Canada and freedom. The city's position on the border between the United States and Canada made it a natural stopping place for slaves trying to reach Canada. To help them, the Anti-Slavery Society maintained depots in a chain of Michigan towns about ten miles apart where food, shelter, and concealment were offered, as well as transportation to the next station. At first there was little attempt at concealment. An account of 1840 tells of a group of twenty slaves gathering at the foot of Woodward Avenue, singing a few hymns, and passing the hat for contributions. At midday they got into small boats and rowed across the river. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 the Railroad definitely went under ground, and fugitives were moved only at night and with great stealth, for Detroit quickly became a center for slave hunters. Some times the latter stayed at the Finney House on Woodward at Gratiot, little realizing that the host

who served them so well was probably harboring their runaway slaves in his big barns a short block away. Another hiding place was the Spring Hill Farm of Peter Lerric in Macomb County, where the slaves were concealed in a spring house carefully camouflaged by a thick mat of vines. Peter named his daughter, born in 1845, Liberetta. To help establish the fugitives who reached Canada, the Liberty Association of Detroit organized a Refugee Home Society, which bought many acres of land back of Sandwich on which they settled over fifty families.

Both men and women were involved in this work, men more actively than women because of the physical dangers. Because they were the ones to drive the carts in which the fugitives lay concealed beneath bags of grain, or to lead them through the dark fields to the next station, their names have come down to us, while few women are named in the scanty records. But we can be very sure that the women were there, strong in spirit, often giving material aid. A fervent belief in human freedom and sympathy for the trembling fugitives assured the help of many women. Sojourner Truth, a freed negro from New York state, one of the most remarkable women her race has ever produced, was often in Michigan pleading for the freedom of her people. In Adrian "Aunt" Laura Haviland, a white Quaker, was devoting her life to the anti-slavery cause. She spoke in many towns and often acted as a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad. She was often in Detroit working with the negro, George de Baptiste. Martha Clark, a negro woman of Detroit, helped many slaves escape, and perhaps Fannie Richards did also. Many white women helped their husbands conceal one or more slaves in the mill, the shed or even the attic. Eliza Seaman Leggett is said to have hidden slaves in her home. Women cooked for them, gave them clothes and medicine. Some women probably helped John Brown with the contingent of fourteen slaves he got safely across the river in the spring of 1859. His conference that night with several Detroiters was held at the home of Fannie Richards and her brother at 315 East Congress Street. Their concern for the abused and the wretched, and their instinct for justice, made many Detroit women stockholders in the Railroad. But since secrecy was so important, it is not surprising that few names have been recorded. There were some Detroiters unsympathetic with the abolitionist idea. Those who

regarded slaves as something less than human, on a par with their horses and cows, naturally resented what seemed to them interference with property rights. Some Northerners took this point of view, and in the pre-war years feelings ran as high in Detroit as in other cities of the North.

With the advent of the Civil War, the tension between the two groups lessened as concern for the soldiers from Detroit filled all hearts, and by the end of the war sentiment against the abolitionists had disappeared. In 1865 when a number of Detroit women put on the Freedmen's Fair, planned for "the relief of the destitute freedmen and refugees," their efforts had the moral support of the city. The Fair was a tremendous undertaking, a culmination of their crusade against slavery. It was held in Merrill Hall on the corner of Jefferson and Woodward, and offered music, floral displays, and a gallery to which citizens had loaned their choicest works of art. Ladies all over the state were invited to set up exhibits or booths; and Detroit women, negro and white working together, sold food and handiwork at the booths, or ran the New England kitchen where a sumptuous supper could be had for fifty cents. Mrs. Colin Campbell was the president of the Fair, and working with her were Mrs. W. D. Cochran, Mrs. Eliza Seaman Leggett, Fannie Richards, Mrs. "Dr." Rose, Mrs. George de Baptiste, and many others. During the week of the Fair, Charles Backus and S. W. Duffield published a daily pamphlet, the *Broken Fetter*, which advertised the attractions of the Fair and printed appropriate messages, poems, and essays sent in by Henry Ward Beecher, John Greenleaf Whittier, Josh Billings, James Russell Lowell and other friends of the anti-slavery movement. The proceeds from the Fair, including donations, came to over \$12,000, adequate compensation, the ladies must have felt, for their labors.

Much of human aspiration finds its source in a desire for freedom, a belief in liberty of the mind and the spirit as well as of the flesh. In this country we fought two wars to gain our freedom, in 1776 for freedom as a nation and in 1812 for freedom of the seas and to maintain the nation. In our third, the Civil War, the freedom of the slave, if not the whole cause, was an issue. Following close upon the crusade to free the slave from actual

bondage came another crusade for freedom, which, though bloodless, was waged with fierce loyalty and careful strategy. This was the suffrage movement, woman's struggle for the ballot. It was more than that really; it was a battle for recognition, a feminine revolt against a society that saw man as "a little lower than the angels" but saw woman as a great deal lower than man. It was a protest to a world that disqualified women politically, barred them from the universities and the professions, and refused to recognize them as persons in the eyes of the law.

In the famous meeting at Seneca Falls in 1848 women drafted their principles in their Declaration of Sentiments: "*Resolved*, that woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such." Some of the contentions made at Seneca Falls as to the subjection of women and the civil death of the married woman were based on a literal acceptance of Blackstone's *Commentaries* and ignored the law of equity by which the disabilities imposed by common law were usually avoided; but they served to arouse women to the need of establishing themselves as persons and affirming the dignity of the sex. Equality became a principle, and for this principle they were prepared to fight.

Most of the women who supported the suffrage movement were women of intellect and vision. They were crusaders in a just cause, in the firm belief that women as well as men should cast a vote and exercise political power. As the years went by, more women supported the cause, seeing the vote not only as a symbol of justice, but as a means of righting social wrongs. During the nineteenth century women had assumed responsibility for many social inadequacies within the community. They had opened schools and hospitals, they had provided homes for neglected orphans and housing for young working girls. They gave in the only way they could, of the only means at their disposal. By the twentieth century women began to see the need of a legal framework for the reforms they wished to effect. As they worked for legislation to protect women and children, they realized their need of the vote to do directly in the legislative hall the things they had sought to accomplish indirectly through persuasion. That women should be denied the ballot was a travesty of justice. Securing the franchise, they believed, would establish them as

persons and also be the means of righting many social wrongs.

Courageous and able women sparked the suffrage movement in Detroit even before the anti-slavery movement gathered momentum. As early as 1840, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone was urging women's right to higher education. In her native New England, she had eagerly studied Latin and Greek but had found no college that would admit her. This frustration made her an ardent advocate of women's rights, especially in education. In Kalamazoo, where her husband was president of Kalamazoo College from 1843-1863, she was invited to be principal of the Female Department of the College, one of the only two institutions of higher learning in Michigan that would accept women.* From this vantage point, through her lectures over the state and her newspaper articles, she urged equal opportunities for women in education, promoting the movement that in 1869 opened the doors of the University of Michigan to women. Another woman to speak in Detroit in behalf of women's rights was Mrs. Ernestine Rose, a young Polish Jewess who for forty years traveled through the country speaking without charge for the cause in which she fervently believed. She spoke twice in Detroit, and in 1846 addressed the Legislature, the first woman to address any legislature, asking for political privileges for women. In 1853, Amelia Bloomer, better remembered in Detroit for her costume than for her remarks, lectured in Fireman's Hall, at Jefferson and Randolph, and the women turned out in good numbers to hear her, despite the jeers of some husbands. Unfortunately her lecture was not recorded.

At about the same time Sojourner Truth was lecturing on abolition, suffrage, and temperance. After the Civil War she made her home in Battle Creek and spoke in Detroit several times. There is no record of any of these talks, but one she made in 1852 at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron gives very well the flavor of her attack. When she arrived at the Akron Convention, women counselled the chairman not to let her speak lest her connection with abolition damage the suffrage cause. She sat silent on the steps of the platform until on the

* The Seminary at Albion was founded in 1835 for "men, Indians and ladies." Between 1850 and 1860 it gave degrees to women only, although men were permitted to enter. In 1861 Albion College was established, admitting men and women.

second day a group of ministers denounced the movement with rhetorical flourishes:

Why should not men have superior rights and privileges?
Just look at their superior intellects. . . .

If God had desired the equality of women He would have given some token of his will through the birth, life and death of the Saviour. . . .

Look what happened on account of Eve!

The white women were no match for the ministers, but the tall gaunt negress climbed to the platform and began to speak:

Well, chillun, whar dar is so much racket, there must be something out of kilter. I t'ink that 'twixt de niggers of de South and de women ob de North all a talking about rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis here talkin about? Dat man over dar say dat women need to be helped in carriages, and lifted over ditches and to have de best places everywhere. Nobody ever helped me into carriages or over mud puddles . . . and aren't I a woman? Look at my arm. (Demonstrating). I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns and no man could head me. And aren't I a woman? I have borned five children and seen 'em mos all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief no one but Jesus heard . . . and aren't I a woman?

Den dey talks about dis ting in de head—what dis dey call it. (Someone shouted "intellect.") Dat' it Honey, intellect. Now what's dat got to do with women's rights or niggers' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full? (Fickle crowd now delirious.) Den dat little man in black dar (points to one of ministers), he say woman can't have as much rights as man cause Christ warn't a woman. Whar did your Christ come from? (Thundering). Whar did your Christ come from, I say. From God and a woman. Man had nothing to do with Him. (Pandemonium in the crowd. Turns to minister who had referred to Eve.) If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down, all alone, dese togedder ought to be

able to turn it back and get it right side up again, and now dey is askin to do it, de men better let 'em.*

Detroit has honored her memory by naming its first negro public housing project after her.

During the 1850's women presented three petitions or memorials to the Legislature, "praying" that they be granted suffrage. In 1855 the request was reported adversely with some ridicule. In 1857 the report was "favorable and respectful." In 1859 the report was favorable to extending suffrage to colored men but doubtful of extending it to women. There the matter rested until after the close of the Civil War. Feeling that the war against slavery and for the preservation of the Union should take first place, the women laid aside their crusade for the ballot until after the war.

The fight to open the University of Michigan to women began before the war. Ever since 1843 Lucinda Hinsdale Stone had kept this issue alive in her talks and articles for women's clubs. In 1859 Sarah Berger (later Mrs. Stearns) and eleven other young women had circulated petitions in the state Legislature urging the admission of women students. They were not successful, but the continued agitation of women for the right to higher education had the indirect effect of giving women tax payers the right to vote in school elections. This law was passed by the Legislature in 1867. Two years later the University of Michigan was opened to women.

Not until 1870 was the first suffrage organization formed in Michigan. In the spring of that year the Michigan Equal Suffrage Society was formed in Battle Creek, and in the fall the American Women's Suffrage Association met for two days in the Detroit Opera House, bringing Julia Ward Howe and Lucy Stone Blackwell to sound the call of battle to Detroit women. Shortly before this Carrie Chapman Catt had made a desperate effort to have the Fifteenth Amendment, giving the negro political rights, give them to women also. The inclusion of the word *sex*—"the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, sex, or previous condition of servitude"—would have set-

* Quoted from Arthur Huff Fauset, *Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), with the permission of the publishers.

tled the issue and avoided much of the work and bitterness of the next fifty years, but the country was not yet ready to entrust the ballot to "females." In Detroit there was so much discussion of this possibility that some people thought the Amendment did give the vote to women. When Mrs. Nanette Gardner of the Ninth Ward asked for a ballot in the spring election of 1871, she was given one and is said to have voted for the next few years until she moved to Ann Arbor. Mrs. Catherine Stebbins of the Fifth Ward made the same request, but she was refused. Neither of the daring ladies of Detroit suffered the indignity that Susan B. Anthony did when she made a similar gesture. The New York courts fined her \$100 for casting a ballot unlawfully.

A more important outgrowth of this discussion was the approval by both houses of the Michigan Legislature of the *Memorial* from the Equal Suffrage Society asking that the word *male* be stricken from the qualifications of electors. Governor Bagley signed the bill, and in 1874 the proposed amendment was sent to the people of the state for their vote. Michigan was immediately the center of interest. Bronson Alcott, John Greenleaf Whittier, Lydia Maria Child, and Lucretia Mott sent gifts and letters. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony spent two months in the state organizing and encouraging the suffrage forces. The newly organized Detroit Women's Suffrage Association worked feverishly with banners, slogans, and pamphlets, but the amendment lost by a three to one popular vote. The state organization lost heart at this failure, and not until 1884 was another state organization formed, the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. The Detroit Association, however, and the new Detroit Equal Suffrage Club, formed in 1875 by Helen Jenkins, former co-worker of Susan Anthony, kept the issue alive.

For some time interest remained largely in the talking stage, but the talk of many women can be a powerful weapon. Slowly, through teas, lectures, and meetings, to which "interested ladies" were invited to hear "prominent ladies" give their reasons for wanting to vote, belief in the cause spread. Gradually the talk showed results, even in the Legislature. The suffrage amendment was introduced there in 1887, in 1889, and again in 1891, failing each time, twice by only a single vote. This repeated failure was discouraging, but the women took heart from the close vote and

from the several compromise gestures that showed the pressure of public opinion and the growing political power of women.

In 1889 a Detroit city charter amendment gave women taxpayers as well as the mothers of minor children the right to vote in the school elections. This bill was drafted by Martha Strickland Clark, one of Detroit's first women lawyers. In 1893, the Legislature approved suffrage for women in municipal elections. This brought great rejoicing. Mayor Pingree ordered additional registration books and Mary L. Doe immediately organized voters' classes to instruct the women in their new privilege. When Edward Kennedy and Henry Potter filed an injunction against the purchase of the new books, Mary Stuart Coffin and Mary Burnett countered by filing a mandamus, but in the end the Supreme Court of Michigan decided against the right of the Legislature to create a new class of voters.*

Opposition in Detroit to the suffrage movement was strong and stubborn, but there was no clear cut alignment of forces. Many men fought against the idea, but many supported it. Ministers spoke for and against suffrage from their pulpits. The struggle was not a battle of the sexes. Hard as it is for the modern woman to understand why women should have fought against their own political freedom, many women were bitterly opposed to this feminist but "unladylike" desire for the ballot. Conservatives who held with Grover Cleveland that woman's place is in the home, and the lazy and indifferent who found it easier to belong to the Anti-Suffrage League than to get out and work for suffrage, arrayed themselves against the movement. The Anti-Suffrage League was, in fact, very strong, enlisting the membership of many able women: Winifred Brent Lyster (Mrs. Henry), Mrs. Charles W. Parker, Mrs. S. T. Crapo, Ada Candler, Mrs. John McMillan, Mrs. Fred Alger, and many others. The Twentieth Century Club, forward looking though it was, with many suffrage workers among its members, was slow to come out as a club for votes for women. Not until 1910 did the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs give its seal of approval. For many years the subject was taboo in both groups.

Detroit society was divided: even the Newberry sisters took

* In 1881 the Legislature had amended the law of 1867 which gave women taxpayers the right to vote in school elections. The amendment gave this right also to mothers or guardians of minor children.

opposite sides. Nor did the early college graduates, whom one would expect to find among the suffragists, stand united. Eleanor Candler, an early graduate of Mount Holyoke, belonged to the anti's, and so did Mrs. Harriett Bishop and her two daughters; while Maria Dickinson McGraw (Mrs. T. S.) who graduated from Vassar with Mrs. Bishop, believed in suffrage. Almost the only group to show complete agreement on the matter were the women physicians. They had braved male antagonism in medical school and in their early practice and now supported suffrage eagerly. Dr. Anna Starring, Dr. Lucy Utter, Dr. Gertrude Banks, and Dr. Mary Stevens were indefatigable workers. Dr. Stevens, who had relinquished much of her practice to give her time to causes for women, had organized a branch of the College Equal Suffrage League in 1909 and traveled constantly over the state speaking in behalf of the cause.

Most active in the opposition were the breweries and all the liquor interests. Knowing the close tie-up between Temperance and Suffrage, they thought they saw the writing on the wall and stood solidly against giving women the vote. One worker still remembers the glee with which Mrs. Grace Stiles one rainy night announced to the group at headquarters that she had just seen a big brewery truck with one wheel off and its load of anti-suffrage literature spilling out into the rain and mud. But not all trucks lost their wheels, and the anti-suffrage movement, supported by some women, brewers and part of the press, especially the *Detroit Saturday Night* and the *Abend Post*, continued strong.

Those who fight for a principle are seldom crushed by opposition. Through the early years of the twentieth century more and more women became convinced of the justice of the principle for which the suffragists were working. By this time women were working together in clubs other than suffrage organizations, and engaged as they were in social and humanitarian activities, many of them realized how much woman's vote was needed. As women became active in social betterment, meeting the city council to ask for playgrounds for children, working with and for unwed mothers and foundlings, and seeking to establish juvenile courts and detention homes, the nineteenth century idea of the sheltered lady gradually disappeared. One Twentieth Century Club member, newly arrived from Denver where women already had the ballot, was so incensed when she

found that she could not get a Library card without her husband's signature that she immediately joined the Suffrage Association.

So great had the interest become that when in 1906 a legislative convention was appointed to revise the state constitution, a tremendous volume of petitions went to Lansing asking that women's suffrage be included in the revised constitution. Mary L. Doe carried petitions bearing the names of 225,000 women representing women's organizations throughout the state. Women from the Independent Voters Club reviewed for the convention the good use women had made of the school suffrage, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Michigan's most eminent suffragist, presented eloquent arguments for the ballot. But the convention voted against this radical revision. Clara B. Arthur, later state president of the Suffrage Association, reported that the revision convention seemed interested until the men realized that if women could vote they could also hold office. After that, their interest in giving women the ballot waned. The convention did, however, recommend as a compromise that tax-paying women be allowed to vote on direct expenditures and bond issues. This privilege was granted in 1908.

In 1910 the women began intensive work toward a second referendum of the suffrage amendment. At the State Fair in September their tent was marked with a large white and gold banner and hundreds of small gold banners "Votes for Women." Working at the booth and passing out pamphlets were Susan Macklem Sellers, Florence Spaulding, Emma Bower, Alice Bou-telle, Minnie Booth, Eloise Steele, and a host of others. In 1911 at the annual convention of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association plans were perfected to push the suffrage amendment through the Legislature. Clara B. Arthur, state president, Clara Hickey, Catherine Stebbins, Sarah Skinner, and Mary Folsom were among those representing Detroit. At this time, Mrs. Arthur reported the forming in Detroit of a Men's League for Woman's Suffrage under the encouragement of Senator Palmer. This group soon numbered a hundred members, with Mr. Levi Barbour as president. Belle Brotherton (Mrs. Wilber), president of the Detroit Equal Suffrage Association, was made chairman of the Plan of Work Committee to organize all campaign activity in Detroit and soon had numerous volunteers at her

command. Women with cars placed them at the disposal of her committee. As a result of the women's work, the next Legislature again submitted the amendment for popular vote.

Then began a tremendous campaign that one needs to go back to occasionally to bring to mind how tirelessly women worked to right what they held to be an injustice to their sex. Young women who have never been without the vote need to realize that this privilege might not be theirs had it not been for the efforts of these women fired by devotion to a principle. The campaign was organized by Susan Sellers, president of the Wayne County Suffrage Association. The headquarters in the old Telegraph Building fairly hummed with activity as Mrs. Arthur, Mrs. Sellers, Harriet Trix (Mrs. John), Minnie Stott Jeffries, and Clara Avery went in and out organizing the speakers' bureau, the displays, and the letter-writing campaigns. Young women fresh out of college gave their services in carrying sandwich boards and passing out literature on street corners. One worker, Mrs. Lucia Grimes, faced with the need of getting the Rev. Ida Hulten of Boston around to the factories, where she was to speak during the noon hours, called an automobile agency in the city to request the use of a car. When she said she represented the Suffrage Association, the man at the other end of the line drew his breath sharply:

"Do you want me to tell you where I think suffragettes should go?" he asked. "Home and take care of their babies."

"I am at home," said "suffragette" Grimes. "My housework is done, my baby has had her bath and is now asleep, but a woman can still talk, you know."

Silence followed; then came the answer, "I beg your pardon. Call Mr. Flint for whatever you want."

She got the car and a driver every day for a month.

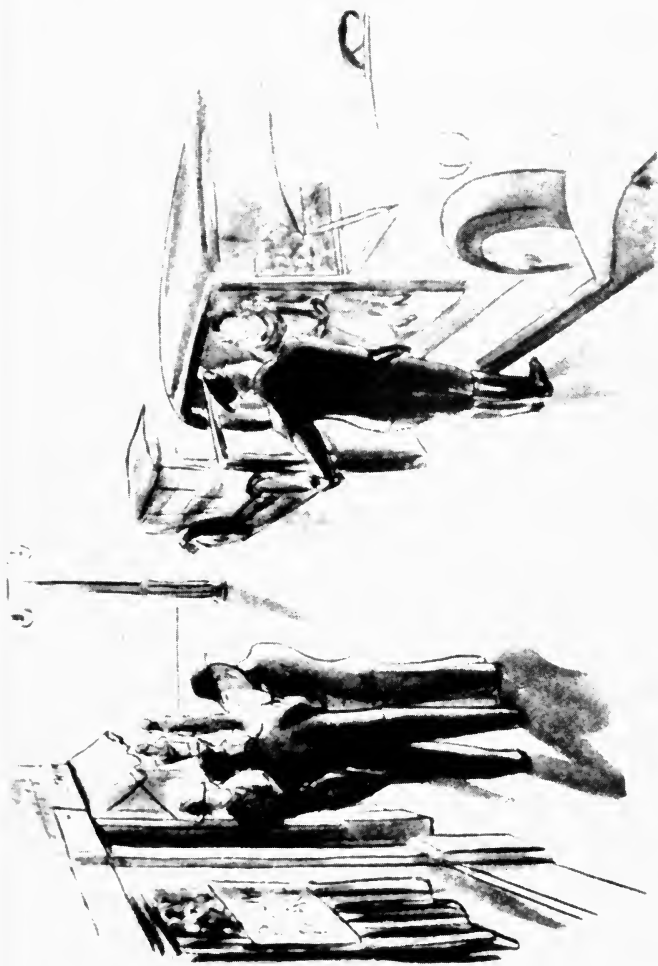
The Detroit Equal Suffrage Association and the College Equal Suffrage League kept up a succession of teas and lectures. Dr. Stevens brought Emmeline Pankhurst, the famous English suffragette, to Detroit for a luncheon. The Women's Independent Voters Club, with Sarah Jane LaTour at the helm, worked incessantly, as did the Ladies of the Modern Maccabees under Alberta Droelle. Agnes Stevens Farrell, Helen Muir Duffield, Kathleen McGraw Hendrie, and Mary Hamilton Grosvenor wrote letters and made speeches to arouse interest among the unde-

cided. Australian born Jennie Law Hardy, a member of the Italian Dante Allegheri Society, worked among the Italians and the Germans; and Helen Rozanska and Angela Kosanski were strong workers among the Polish groups, interviewing the foreign language newspapers and winning over some of the Catholic priests.

Finally election day came, November, 1912. The women were hopeful. So much work could not go for nothing. But the next day's papers announced that the amendment had lost by the narrow margin of 762 votes. Today there would have been a recount; and it was well established then that in certain wards votes had strangely disappeared; but the disappointed suffragists merely redoubled their efforts to prepare for the spring election, having been assured that the Legislature would re-submit the amendment. More teas and lectures, more flyers, speakers and sandwich boards, more letters and pamphlets, and more workers—Carrie Church Oostdyk (Mrs. A. J.), in charge of the spring campaign, Sarah Bradshaw Sampson (Mrs. George), Augusta Voigt, and numerous others. But again, in spite of all efforts, including a stirring lecture by Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Women's International Suffrage Alliance, a few weeks before election, the amendment was voted down, this time by an even larger margin.

The suffrage organizations were tired and discouraged, but only temporarily. They might have lost a battle, but they would not admit having lost the war. The Detroit groups joined forces in an Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, with Lillian Silk Holt, president, and continued their educational campaign. In the national organization, meanwhile, a split developed between the older leaders who believed in state action and a younger group who felt the time had come for a federal Constitutional amendment. This group under Alice Paul organized as the Congressional Union (later the National Women's Party) to fight for such an amendment. Naturally, Detroit women formed a branch of this new organization, and many of those active in the old groups joined, among them Emma Fox, Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Margaret Whittemore, Ruby Zahn, Jennie Patton Beattie (Mrs. Robt.), Harriet Robinson McGraw (Mrs. W. A.), and Julia Finster.

In 1917 the Legislature made another concession to the suf-



"Sorry, miss, but he says you must vote in person."

Helen E. Hokinson
The New Yorker, November 5, 1932
By Permission

frage workers in granting women the right to vote for President. On November 5, 1918, the suffrage amendment was again submitted. A vigorous campaign followed, much of it directed by Mrs. Albert Pepper. This time the work, the organization, and the experience of the past campaigns, plus the realization by men of the part women had played in the first world war, bore fruit, and Michigan became the seventh state to grant women the right to vote.

But in many states women were still without that right, and so Detroit women continued to work for the ratification of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, as the federal amendment was called. Some of them were in Washington to carry the 181,000 foot petition in 1919, and Kathleen McGraw Hendrie, Margaret Whittemore, Betsy Graves Reneau (Mrs. Paul), Geraldine Sheehan, Lillian Snedcor, Mrs. Lillian Ascough, and Phoebe Munnecke helped picket the White House, because it was felt that President Wilson was opposed to the amendment. This took physical courage, for rough treatment was handed out to some of the picketers, and jail sentences were given to a good many including Margaret Whittemore and Betsy Graves Reneau.

When the amendment was passed by Congress and signed by President Wilson, Michigan was one of the first three states that ratified it almost simultaneously. The big victory jubilee that followed in Cadillac Square was a symbol of the joy and elation felt by hundreds of Detroit women who had fought the good fight.

It had been a good fight and a long one, fought for all women by a few. Almost incredible was the courage and persistence of the women who faced jeers and arrests, opposition and defeat, again and again, only because they believed so firmly in the principle that to men and women alike belong the privileges and responsibilities of government. All that they hoped for from women's votes has not been attained, and some women are still indifferent to the privilege won for them. Like men, women sometimes fail as citizens. It required about seventy-five years of effort against great odds on the part of a relatively small number of determined women to gain the ballot. Small wonder, then, that the processes of education involved before all will use it effectively have not ended to this day.

intemperance by reducing the number of "groceries," the term

Even before Noah drowned his troubles in wine instead of the too-plentiful water on which the Ark floated, alcohol presented a problem to the human race. Not evil in itself, it has brought evil into many lives. Although women as well as men have been guilty of misusing it, women have suffered more than men from the evil of strong drink, for they have seen their homes broken up and their children's lives destroyed. For this reason women have always been the leaders in the temperance movements over the country. When the ferment of revolt among women came to the surface after the Civil War, and women began to organize to seek justice for their sex in political opportunity, many women at the same time began a crusade against liquor in the organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Alliance. (After two years *Alliance* was changed to *Union*). The suffrage and the temperance movements were not actually connected, except as they were both parts of the large feminist movement to right the wrongs against women; but in popular opinion they were closely allied. The brewers fought women's suffrage largely because they feared women would use the vote to close the saloons. The crusade for temperance was never so inclusive a movement as that for suffrage, but for fifty years the W.C.T.U. was a strong moral force in the country. The methods of the W.C.T.U. were dramatic. Sometimes with Carrie Nation the women smashed bottles and glasses in the saloons; sometimes they knelt in prayer on the saloon floors asking God to open the eyes of the drinkers and saloon keepers to the evil of their ways. In one way or another they awoke men and women to the evil of drink and the need of reform.

Liquor problems in Detroit began in Cadillac's village, when, despite Jesuit prayers, the traders plied the Indians with brandy, knowing that from a well-laced Indian they could get their furs cheaper than from a sober one. As the years went by there was so much trouble from drunken Indians that in 1774 the merchants agreed to sell liquor only in a General Rum Store. Drinking was not restricted to the Indians. Early travelers to Detroit spoke of the exceedingly heavy drinking, and records indicate that even leading citizens of the early nineteenth century often over-indulged in spirits. There were many, of course, who disapproved of this. By 1830 men of the city were trying to curb

equivalent then to *saloon*. In addition to these groceries, there were in 1834 forty-six bars, or one to every thirteen families. Numerous temperance organizations among the men between 1830 and 1870 constantly tried to control licensing of bars and to close the saloons on Sunday, but the liquor interests were so strong, especially after the *bier halle* became popular with the growing German population, that the aldermen played into their hands, evading or twisting city ordinances to suit the liquor dealers.

Soon after 1870 the dramatic crusade of the women to establish temperance swept over the country. To many women liquor was evil incarnate. They had seen its effects on the street and in the homes, and those who organized to fight it fought with the strength of ten because of the purity of their motive, symbolically suggested in the white ribbon insignia of the W.C.T.U.

Detroit women, always abreast of national currents, were ready to join the movement. In 1874, the year in which the national W.C.T.U. was formed, Mrs. A. J. Murray, Sarah Jane LaTour and others gathered a group of women in St. Andrews Hall to inquire into the feasibility of a Detroit prayer brigade as a means of closing the saloons. A committee was appointed: Mrs. John Gribbons, Mrs. C. S. Cushing, Mrs. C. C. Foote. Ten days later nearly four hundred women met at the Central Methodist Church to organize a Detroit branch of the W.C.T.U. Temperance to these early leaders meant total abstinence, and the women had as their goal a pledge from every man, woman and child in Detroit never to touch liquor as a beverage. Some of the finest women in the city were leaders of the organization. Following Mrs. Murray, the organizing president, Isabella Duffield Stewart and Mrs. B. B. Hudson in turn took over the presidency. They distributed tracts and pledge cards and made systematic visits to the saloon keepers, urging them to consider the effects of their evil business. Some of the women demurred at entering the saloons, but Mrs. Foote told them there could be no turning back now. In the saloons, or on the sidewalk if they were not admitted, the women knelt in prayer and pleaded with those at the bar.

All over the country women were holding these prayer meetings, and with surprising success. News items like the following in Pittsburgh began to appear as the movement gained momentum:

All the saloons at Cadiz have surrendered except one, and 200 women are praying there. . . . Praying at the saloons at Cristline begins today. It is thought the saloons at Martin's Ferry cannot hold out against the excitement.

The walls did not fall in an instant, of course. The report of a mass meeting held in Pontiac in 1874 ended with the words: "We want our ladies to keep their places and mind their own affairs. No woman's crusade will ever amount to anything in this place."

But "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." Prayer, dramatic force, and emotional appeal succeeded in doing what reasonable efforts to change laws had not been able to do. Public sentiment, deaf so long to the efforts of men's temperance societies, began to act. In August, 1875, the saloons were ordered closed on Sundays, and the election, soon after, of the Law and Order candidate for mayor gave promise that this law would be enforced. Since then, laws closing saloons and bars on Sunday have been fairly well enforced. The saloons did not all disappear immediately, but as the women continued their crusade, public feeling against them increased.

The women of Detroit did not stop with prayer meetings. There were other ways in which they could and did work for temperance. Most of the Detroit restaurants had bars. To provide one without this temptation to drink they opened a Temperance Restaurant in the Y.M.C.A., which proved a huge success. When others followed, the women, having accomplished their purpose, sold out. They attempted to reduce drinking at social functions, particularly at the lavish New Year's receptions, urging that coffee take the place of wine and brandy. Among the children they did a magnificent piece of work, setting up a Loyal Temperance Legion for children, which at one time under leadership of Mrs. Dyk Swan numbered over seven thousand members, and a Youth Temperance Council for teen-agers. The National W.C.T.U. met in Detroit in 1883, and several times after that.

Of recent years the work of the W.C.T.U. has been largely preventive and philanthropic. Under strong leaders the movement gathered force with a large membership and accomplished much of what it had set out to do. After that, membership declined, but a number of women have continued the organization. They have sponsored radio programs, they operated for many

years a mother-child center in the Polish district, since 1912 they have offered housing to young working women in the Frances Willard Home on West Vernor, and they contribute gifts and supplies to hospitalized soldiers and sailors.

The real culmination of the temperance crusade was the proclamation of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, and the passage later of the Volstead Act. This Amendment prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor in the United States. Drinking, either private or public, had been ended. That at least was the hope of the temperance forces. Human nature willed otherwise. So open was the revolt against this universal prohibition, and so widespread the defiance of law that many began to question the wisdom of this method of attack. In Detroit, men and women, many of them financial and social leaders, organized a campaign for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Even some who still believed in the principle back of the temperance movement, felt that the negative approach of prohibition, resulting as it had in all the evils attendant upon boot-legging and defiance of law, was not the method to use. In 1933 the Amendment was repealed.

While many of her friends were campaigning for the repeal of the Amendment, Mrs. Truman Newberry, realizing the temptation that American youth would face under repeal, launched a campaign to protect it. When repeal came, she did not give up her fight; she only changed its direction, concentrating on a youth program for recreation and education concerning the effects of drinking. In 1932, she with a group of friends, including Mrs. Emerson Davis and Mrs. Cyrenius Newcomb, Jr., quietly organized the Detroit Chapter of Allied Youth of America for Prohibition, the newest of the national movements for temperance. Although there is an advisory committee of men, the direction and sponsorship of the organization has been in the hands of women. Since 1932 a very constructive program has proved to thousands of young people (the membership in 1952 was approximately 2500) that they need not depend on alcohol to have fun. The young people, most of them between seventeen and twenty-five, do a good deal of their own planning in seven active posts. Their New Year's Eve dances in the Masonic Temple are attended by five or six thousand young people, proud to be part of the city's largest dry party.

A fourth movement, not yet a crusade, is slowly gathering strength among women of the world. This is the growing desire for peace. In spite of the general assumption to the contrary, women have not always been on the side of peace. If they had been, the course of history might have been changed. But within the last century the movement for peace has been growing stronger. After the close of the Civil War several peace groups were formed: the Universal Peace Union in 1866, the Women's Peace Congress, assembled by Julia Ward Howe in 1872, and the Women's Peace League in 1895.

In 1915, after the beginning of the first world war, Jane Adams and a group of women from different countries formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It was apparent at that time that neither side would win the war in the trenches, and some people felt that neutral countries might by intervention end the war. This feeling was very strong among the women at the Hague who founded the Women's International League (W.I.L.). In a movement growing out of this belief, a Detroit woman had a key position. Lillian Silk Holt (Mrs. Frederick), president of the Women's Peace Party in Detroit, was asked by Emily Balch, great peace worker and later winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, to invite the Countess Rozika Schwimmer to her home. The reason for the visit was to enable her to meet Henry Ford. Mrs. Holt made the introduction, Rozika Schwimmer interested Ford in the possibility of making peace by intervention, and Henry Ford underwrote the Peace Ship in early 1916. Mrs. Holt was one of the passengers.

The Peace Ship was a strange project, but worth trying because it might have succeeded. It had bad publicity from the start, but the expedition was not the fiasco it is often pictured as being. The reception of the delegates in the Scandinavian countries and the Hague was enthusiastic. With Mr. Ford's support a working organization of six neutral countries functioned for a year. When the United States entered the war Ford withdrew his support and offered his resources to the government.

Mrs. Holt came back from Europe with an even stronger desire for peace. In 1918 she helped the Women's Peace Party organize as a Detroit Branch of the Women's International League, and later she organized and became president of a state division of W.I.L. Other clubs, too, began to be concerned with

peace. There was a quickening of interest in international affairs and in disarmament. In Detroit the Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Association of University Women, and the Business and Professional Women's Clubs all had study groups in international affairs. The Women's International Education Association was formed and for twenty years maintained an unremitting interest in peace and international understanding. Women's organizations sent delegates to European conferences and at home worked for the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1929 and the first World Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932. The AAUW and other groups brought lecturers on foreign affairs and encouraged the exchange of students and professors. Many women were working sincerely for a lasting peace. But in December, 1941, their hopes were shattered.

Today, a generation that has seen two world wars is more than ever convinced of the futility of war as an answer to international problems, and the demand for peace is growing more articulate. In Detroit the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, an international and inter-racial group, is most active in the work for peace. Their work is quiet but constant. Through work for the social and economic well being of individuals and the protection of their civic rights, for universal membership in the United Nations, and for total disarmament, the League hopes to bring about lasting peace. A Detroit woman is now the head of the National League. Who knows what the results might be if the women of America or of the world embarked upon a crusade for peace?

Women in Business, the Professions, and Industry

THE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT WOMAN found in such great numbers in the business and the professional world today has won public attention and acclaim, but those who regard her as a new creation of the twentieth century have not sufficiently studied the annals of history. True, those annals have often minimized the story of woman's work. In his *Outline of History*, for example, H. G. Wells gives full accounts of Egyptian male rulers, some of them very unimportant, and then dismisses the great Empress Hatasu with the statement: "Of one, the most extraordinary and able of Egyptian monarchs, Queen Hatasu, we have no space to tell." Historians have seldom given a full picture of woman's part in the economic life of the world, but it remains true that there have always been women in business and trade, from the earliest days of barter to the present. There have always been women like some of the ladies of the feudal period, who had the executive ability to direct the affairs of great estates. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries women traders had a part in helping to undermine the agricultural economy of the feudal system and to establish towns and cities, centers of trade. Women were barbers, pelters, tailors, carpenters, tilers, merchants, saddlers, bakers, cordwainers and fullers. In most of the English and French trade guilds of the Middle Ages women were on an equal basis with men. Much of the work was done in the home or in a small shop connected with the house, and women worked with their husbands and trained the apprentices. If business was

good, they often hired some one to do the housework and look after the small children. A widow usually carried on her husband's work and joined his guild if she were not already a member.

In the seventeenth century English women were active in nearly all productive enterprises. Alice Clark's study, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, shows that they dug coal upon a royal manor, made and sold silk stockings, managed insurance businesses, were army and navy contractors, and had contracts with the shipping industry. Three women are said to have had government monopolies respectively over the silk trade, the biscuit trade with India, and the import of iron. Oliver Cromwell's granddaughter directed a salt mine and was admired for her ability to shine at social affairs after a hard day's work. Nor was industry among women limited to the Old World. Women of the Atlantic Seaboard Colonies built up thriving home industries in the eighteenth century, spinning and weaving hemp, flax and wool, and even making clothes to sell. In 1765, two hundred homemade jackets were "exported" from Boston to Albany. According to Rolla Tryon, author of *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860*, the busy, skilful women were a large part of the battle of the Colonies for economic independence from England.

French women have traditionally had a shrewd business sense and helped their husbands with small businesses. Those who came to Detroit in the early eighteenth century brought that ability with them. Mme Cadillac came from a family of wealth in Quebec, but she had been well trained in the management of a household and in the handling of business affairs. While her husband was away from the Fort, often for months at a time, she took charge of his supplies and affairs and managed the trading. Surrounded by Indians, unpredictable if not hostile, and by her husband's local enemies she was in a difficult position, but she showed herself fearless and capable in handling her responsibilities. Other French women, too, possessed this kind of ability and contributed undoubtedly to the domestic economy of the settlement. Many women bartered homespun cloth for game. When many of the French reverted to trapping after the coming of the English in 1760, their wives were left to manage the farms. Some of them helped in the trapping, or at least in the

business part of the work. The original ledgers of A. and W. Macomb record the purchase in 1781 from the widow Berthelet of 12,132 skins, 10,919 deerskins, 9,483 racoon, 409 beaver, 614 cat and fox, 68 otter, 16 elk and 3 wolf skins.

By the end of the century there is definite record of Detroit women who were in business for themselves, some of them in trades long open to women. Ever since fig leaves and animal skins went out of fashion, women have made the clothing for the human race. In 1790 Mrs. Graham and Miss Campau were doing well in shirt making, and Mme Persie was advertising "London styles" for ladies' dresses. Ann Coates, who was licensed in 1801 to open a tavern, was probably not the first to run one, for women for centuries have been tavern keepers. That a Detroit woman, in 1953, should be named head of the bartenders' and waitresses' union is not so unprecedented as it might seem.

French women as a group were not fond of spinning, but the efforts of Elizabeth Williams and Elizabeth Lyons to teach spinning and weaving in their early schools and the advent of English women evidently increased an interest in these crafts. At any rate there is a record that in 1810 Detroit women produced 421 yards of flax and 1300 yards of woolen goods, part of which they sold. Women worked in the home spinning and weaving to make cloth and garments for the household, and some of them built up quite a little business. Others left the home to work. By 1836 women were employed in seven occupations: sewing, washing, nursing, book-binding, typesetting, weaving in factories, and teaching. An eighth occupation was domestic service.

The increasing industrialization of the city and the growing need as well as the desire of many women and girls to earn their own living led to increased employment of women in more fields. Domestic service became less popular than it had been. Even in the eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe had complained in England that girls would spin for seven or eight shillings a week rather than go into household service for twelve. The same situation was true in the last half of the nineteenth century in Detroit, as factories called for women workers. For those women who did not go into factories, there was an increasing number of opportunities. Some young women tried to preserve a certain gentility in earning extra money, for unless it was an economic neces-

sity, many looked askance at girls who wanted to work outside their homes. It probably took real courage in 1853 for Ann Andrews to advertise publicly:

To the ladies of Detroit. Having opened a school for the purpose of giving lessons in flowers, Ladies wishing to learn that beautiful accomplishment, by calling next Monday at 2 o'clock, can learn further information with regards as to terms, corner of State Street and Woodward Avenue at Mrs. Soule's. Ladies are requested to call and examine specimens.

Apparently there was an interest in this form of art, for later Mrs. A. Cousen ran, for nearly twenty years, the National Flower Preservation Company, offering the selection of wax flowers, natural flowers, preserved flowers and feather flowers, as well as "vegetables such as beets, corn, and lettuce made of tissue paper in appropriate colors."

Women who felt no necessity for preserving an appearance of gentility got along very well financially. Judging from the size of the gift Nancy Martin was able to make to Harper Hospital, running a market stall was a lucrative business. Before that she had had a grocery store on Larned and Griswold streets. There were others who found profit in food. Mrs. Cato was manufacturing and selling sauces in a small shop on Jefferson Avenue in 1890, and a number of women were running groceries and meat markets.

Success was not limited to food. Around the same time two sisters, Grace and Stella Bartlett, came from Iowa to set up their own print shop. They were more than lady editors, for at first they set their own type and did all their own work, often working late into the night. For the first six months they lost money every week, but in 1893 they reported five hundred subscribers to their paper, the *North Side Gazette*, and plenty of job work on the side. "Blood tells," said a reporter from the *Evening News* of these young women. "Their mother was a homeopathic surgeon and their father a strong advocate for women's suffrage." This same reporter spoke of the throngs of working girls, "principally factory girls, milliners, dressmakers, tailoresses and office girls," and added: "There are few trades and professions in Detroit that women have not invaded."

During the next few decades they were to "invade" more, as fields undreamed of in 1893 opened to both men and women. The census in 1940 revealed that women were employed in all but nine of the 451 classifications. In 1900 Alice Chaney (Mrs. Willard) was licensed as a ship's pilot and became the first woman captain of the Lakes. The captain who examined her was so impressed with her knowledge of boats that he could hardly credit his senses that she was a woman. Her application was probably far more astonishing to the masculine world of 1900 than was the first Detroit woman's application in 1928 for a license to fly a plane. By 1900 there were women owning and managing a number of businesses, including a harness shop, a wood, coal and ice company and a brewery. Mrs. J. J. Duby, of 481 Baker, was even an undertaker.

Progress of women in business and the professions was very rapid after the first world war. Detroit, as was natural, provided excellent opportunities for women as for men. The *Detroit Saturday Night* was so impressed that it was moved to comment, in 1924: "The economically independent woman seen in all her great growth in this country is the wonder of the world. Detroit has more representative business women who have achieved signal success than any other city except New York." The same conditions influencing Detroit business men have influenced women too. They have pioneered in unusual enterprises. To meet competition, they have learned to be keen, hard if necessary, accurate and persistent. Clara Kellogg, a real estate woman, when asked in 1893 for some humorous incident in connection with her career, remarked acidly that the funniest thing she knew was the way men always thought they could get the best of a woman in business. Her own success showed them to be wrong. "Bigger and better" has been the philosophy of many, and the desire for money, plenty of it, has brought women as well as men to the top. Today the list of successful business women in Detroit is a long one representing many different fields.

Madam Persie, who proudly copied London styles in 1790, and all the dressmakers who for the next hundred years clothed Detroit women, could hardly have foreseen that ready-to-wear clothing would destroy much of the dressmaker's business, making it largely "alterations." By 1890 some women were beginning to buy their dresses ready made, and women buyers were em-

ployed in Hudson's and Newcomb-Endicott's in their ready-to-wear departments. Since that time women's clothing has become an important part of retail trade.

The first small dress shop in Detroit was opened by Ethel Bigsby, on Woodward Avenue. Later she leased space on Bagley, half of which she rented for several years to the Women's City Club. For many years her shop was the center for the well-dressed women of Detroit. Mme Bigsby was a good business woman. When she retired she sold her lease for a fabulous profit.

Helen Rozanska opened a dress shop in Hamtramck that grew into a department store and made its owner a small fortune, which she spent in philanthropy. Hundreds of women are now connected with the serious business of dressing milady. Two important specialty shops, one for many years in the downtown area and one in the Fisher Building, have catered to women of means who rely on them for the effect they wish to achieve in dress. Many women have a keen sense for style, good taste, and the ability to persuade a woman customer to select what is becoming to her. Combined with good business sense, these qualities have led to the development of very fine careers. Hundreds of women hold important positions in Detroit either as buyers, owners or managers of shops, directors or fashion co-ordinators in the large stores. Fashion is important business and Detroit has many able women in top positions in this field. Their knowledge of fashion is unerring. They buy merchandise foretelling with precision what women will buy; they arrange the displays; they put on the fashion shows; they select wardrobes for women who do not care to shop in person; and in dozens of little dress shops over the city they help Detroit women to be "smart" on whatever budget they can afford.

Keeping pace with the business of fashion is the business of beauty, which was built up to tremendous proportions in the last quarter century. There were pioneers in the early '20's: Mrs. Richard Allen, who ran Detroit's first hair store and was famous for her creams; Marie Moore Wolverton, who began the manufacture of cosmetics under the non-glamorous name of the Riddo Chemical Company, using as a base for her creams her grandfather's old recipe for pine ointment, and the woman who brought back from Paris some of the allure of beauty culture as practiced there and for years gave her name to a large and well known

beauty school in the city. Since then other women have opened schools, perfected the manufacture and distribution of cosmetics, and set up a large proportion of the some fifteen hundred shops in the city. There are skilled men in the profession, too, but the beauty business is largely in women's hands and is very successfully managed.

Traditionally, from the earliest centuries, women have prepared and dispensed man's food, so it is natural that women should now occupy key positions in all phases of the food business. A number of very good restaurants, from a large and popular Scandinavian dining room to small ones specializing in "home cooked food" are owned and operated by women who know food and how it should be prepared. In hotels, restaurants, clubs, hospitals, and schools women dieticians plan menus, do much of the buying, and study problems of cost and consumption. The women who do the planning and buying of supplies for the lunch rooms of the public schools, to give one example, handle a business involving over three millions of dollars a year and affecting the health of all the children of the city. In the big baking companies women manage displays and packaging and experiment with new offerings. Public utility companies and makers of stoves and refrigerators use a number of able women in their home service departments to interpret their wares to the public and to suggest to management improvements that will appeal to women buyers. In laboratories of various kinds many women direct and perform the research in nutrition that protects public health. A woman is the director of the big Detroit Dairy Council, adding to the work of directing the interpretation to the public of the laws of nutrition.

Sometimes women have developed big businesses from a special interest in food. It has been said that ice cream soda was the result of a woman's quick thought. When a very high temperature soured the cream one day, Mrs. Fred Sanders suggested that ice cream might be used in the soda instead of cream. One of the popular chain bakeries in the city began when a woman decided to capitalize on her skill in baking. Mrs. Fletcher E. Awrey came to Detroit early in the century with her husband. Times were hard and work was scarce, and so Mrs. Awrey suggested that her husband sell from door to door some of the pies and cakes which she turned out in her kitchen. This he did

with great success. Later, when he found a job with a baker, the home business stopped. But Mrs. Awrey had an idea and the vision and drive to make it a reality. Borrowing \$400 from her family in Canada, she and her husband started a little bakery of their own at McGraw and Scotten. There was no office, often little money, but she managed. She engineered the business, her son says. Today, over a hundred bakeries are evidence of the excellence of her idea.

The successful Aunt Jane jam and pickle business was developed during the Depression when Mrs. Gielow began selling orange marmalade, and then her pickles and relishes, which her friends always begged from her at canning time. Mrs. Wagner's pies were made first in her own small kitchen. The owner and manager of the first Coffee Dan's started with no special knowledge of the baking business, but a woman's interest in good quality food led her into it, and before she retired, she was manager of twelve Federal Bakery stores. Another Detroit woman owned and managed until recently a successful extract and flavoring business.

When fraternal organizations began offering insurance to women, a new field was opened to women who wished to go into business. The old line companies soon followed the lead of the fraternal organizations and employed women to sell insurance. The first woman in this business in Detroit was Aristine Andrews, a former newspaper woman. Lena Lake Forrest and Georgia Emery also pioneered in this field, beginning their work early in the first decade of the twentieth century. They brought to their work the sincere conviction that women needed the protection of insurance, and they began immediately to educate women to this idea. They also had the imagination to see the insurance business from the woman's angle and to persuade the company for which they worked to improve rates and offer annuities and endowment policies that were more attractive to single women than straight life insurance. Georgia Emery's keen mind gave her such an unusual grasp on all angles of insurance that her ability was recognized nationally, and saleswomen from other cities were sometimes sent to her for training. So outstanding was her position in the city that when five women were chosen to decide on the kind of school to be established with the money left by Lizzie Merrill Palmer she was named to the Board and made its first

chairman. She is said to have been the first Detroit woman to own and drive a Ford.

Mrs. Forrest, daughter of a noted suffragist, was of similar caliber. Both Mrs. Forrest and Miss Emery were highly successful in their own careers and, more important for Detroit, educated women to see their need for insurance. To them, business women of Detroit owe not only the financial protection of insurance but the establishment of a professional attitude among themselves. Both believed in helping younger women get a firmer foothold in the business world and felt that this could best be accomplished by organization. In 1918 Georgia Emery was one of the ten women over the country who went to New York to discuss the feasibility of a national organization of business women. From this meeting came the National Business and Professional Women's Club, of which, in 1920, Lena Lake Forrest was made president. Within the next decade or so several Business and Professional Women's groups were organized in Detroit, many of them under the initial guidance of Mrs. Forrest or Miss Emery.

Under the leadership of these two women and others like them large women's divisions were built up in most of the insurance companies. Today women not only sell insurance but own and manage their own insurance businesses, often specializing in certain types, as marine insurance or estate planning. It is said, in fact, that the leading insurance women today are in positions of management rather than in selling.

A similar story may be told of women in real estate. Women were in the real estate business by 1890, tempted by the prospect of easy money. "A little money is no use to me," said Mrs. B. Whitbeck in 1893. "I must have a good deal. I must and I will." Some women have had good luck in this field, but for most women, success has come as a result of hard work and unusual ability. One woman, who went into the real estate business in 1916, had, by 1927, built up a tremendous business with offices in twelve cities and a sales force of six hundred. One of the largest real estate offices of Detroit has a woman vice president, a specialist in downtown property. So outstanding is her ability that she was recently elected a director of the Detroit Real Estate Board, the first woman to hold such a position. More down town property is owned and managed by women than many people

suspect. Mrs. Charles H. Hammond erected the Hammond Building in 1889 and owned it until her death. It was Detroit's first skyscraper. Mrs. Emma J. Farwell owned and managed the Farwell Building and estate for a number of years; and the site of the present Music Hall was for some time owned by a negro woman, Fannie Crissup Hutchinson. When she sold at great profit she left her money to two charities, the Willing Workers' Club and the Phyllis Wheatley Home. One of the women descendants of the Campau family was until recently the head of a large real estate company, managing hundreds of tenants, showing that financial ability can be passed on to daughters as well as to sons. Many women are successful in selling real estate. One large real estate company reported, in 1953, a woman's division of eighty members.

One of the most outstanding of real estate women developed a large subdivision recently incorporated on the outskirts of Detroit. Back of her work has been the ideal of beautiful homes, not necessarily expensive, but pleasing in appearance and honestly constructed. In the Detroit subdivision she first developed, she insisted that all architects submit their plans for her approval. The subdivision became one of the substantial residential sections of Detroit. Later she bought up one thousand acres north and west of Detroit, where she undertook one of the largest land promotion schemes in the Detroit area. The Depression and World War II put serious difficulties in her way, but she managed to hang on to her land, though the years were lean. Today Lathrup Townsite, a center of attractive brick and stone houses, is evidence that a woman's desire for beauty is not incompatible with good business.

Other women have demonstrated their ability in business ownership and management. As early as 1900 women were running harness stores and lumber companies. Today many businesses remote from any popular conception of women's interests are owned and run by women. Among them are cement, machinery, trucking, construction, roofing, gear-grinding, tractor, fish, coal and lumber, wine and liquor companies, and one pharmaceutical company. Sometimes a woman has taken over the business on the death of her husband, and it has nearly always prospered in her hands, occasionally beyond its former success. Mrs. George Johnston, once president of the Twentieth Century Club, ran

the Johnston Optical Company after her husband's death and told friends that she made more money in it than he had. One woman has built to great success a food brokerage firm which she inherited as a small business. When help was unavailable, she herself, sometimes at 3 A.M., would go down to the track sidings to receive her shipments. No work that a man could have done was beyond her courage.

Carrying a business through to success is no easier for a woman than for a man, and usually it is harder. Lila Husted founded the Health Spot Shoe Company and managed it until her death a few years ago. In the Polish group, Mrs. Jadwig Gibasiewicz built up a furniture business in spite, not only of popular prejudice but of the wishes of her own family. She had to struggle against the determined opposition of her mother and her husband. But Mrs. Gibasiewicz was a woman of great ability and determination. She had a family of children, but she also managed her business so successfully that it brought her a great deal of money.

Several women own their own advertising businesses, and two of these have twice received national honors for their advertising campaigns. One woman has managed the advertising and controlled much of the policy of one of the movie chains in the city.

During the last century women have successfully run schools of various kinds. Many private schools for girls have been established and run by women. The Liggett School, after more than seventy-five years of existence, still maintains its reputation for excellence. Edna Chaffee Noble came to Detroit in 1877 and established the Detroit Training School of Elocution and English Literature which she ran successfully for many years, changing the name in 1915 to the Chaffee Noble School of Expression. In 1888 Mildred Bolt (Mrs. I. W.) opened the Detroit School of Expression, also a successful venture. The Thomas' Normal Training School, run by Mrs. Emma Thomas, was known over the country, for her students, trained to teach art, music, domestic science, and physical education, were in demand everywhere. Her school was a pioneering venture and brought renown to the city as well as to its able founder. Mme Ganapol was considered by many the stronger partner in the music school she ran with her husband. The several Detroit studios of the Arthur Murray

Dance School are owned and run by a woman, and the Meinzinger School of Art was taken over by a woman on the death of her husband and successfully expanded.

Many women have been quick to see business opportunities in providing services of various kinds. One woman pioneered in Detroit with the idea of secretarial service, renting space where for a fee business men or women might have telephone calls answered, mail forwarded and letters typed without being at the expense of office upkeep. A number of letter service shops have been opened by women, who, in addition to having secretarial ability, have had the daring and imagination to capitalize on this ability. It was a woman who originated the Business Trade Directory and Calendar for a section of Detroit business. Women own and run employment offices, travel bureaus, a physicians and surgeons exchange, and at least one detective agency. A good number own and manage gift shops, many of them showing unusual taste in the selection they offer, and a few women have florist shops. Several women have done much for Detroit in bringing lectures and concerts to the city. Nellie Peck Saunders developed the Cass Town Hall series, and a woman has run the Fisher series successfully for many years. Miss Zetta Robinson for years did valuable service in booking concert artists for various groups. A negro woman has a booking agency for negro artists. A few women own businesses providing radio scripts and even shows, complete with actors and properties.

There are many women accountants, enough for a flourishing branch of the American Society of Women Accountants. Fewer women attain the rank of certified public accountant, one of the positions most jealously guarded by men. Before an applicant can take the examinations for this position, she must have worked three years with a C.P.A. Women found it difficult to find such openings. Only when one woman received the title of CPA through a ruling which gave the title to all accountants who had worked a certain number of years, was the way opened. She hired in her office women who wished to work the stipulated three years in order to take the examination. Today there are several women C.P.A.'s in Detroit.

When women do not own businesses, they often hold important executive positions as officers, directors or managers. Sarah Sheridan rose from the ranks to become vice president of the De-

troit Edison Company. This was a position in a major company of responsibility and prestige rarely attained by a woman, but many other women have held similar positions in smaller companies. Many women hold managerial positions calling for great ability. Women are district managers for large companies, merchandise and sales managers for clothing and chain food stores, and advertising managers, credit managers and office managers for many well-known Detroit firms.

In the field of personnel management women hold key positions. Their ability to judge character and personality and to fit the person to the right job and training is recognized as one of the factors leading to their success in this work. The first personnel director in any large business firm in Detroit was Mary Grosvenor, daughter of Mary Hamilton Grosvenor, whose work for the school gardens was so important in Detroit. Today most of the top personnel positions in the department stores, the big industries, the public utilities, the hospitals, and other large concerns and institutions are filled by women. A woman is the Detroit employment manager for the Atlantic and Pacific grocery stores in the Southern Michigan area. Not a person is employed in the stores, offices, or warehouses of this company in the area of which she is in charge without her stamp of approval. Another woman, head of personnel work in a great public utility, plans the methods and directs the teaching for the training of the hundreds of employees, the training not only of those filling ordinary positions but for those who have shown promise of becoming executives.

In the allied field of public relations, women hold good positions. In banks, department stores and other businesses, the head of the public relations department is usually a woman. One Detroit woman is public relations director for such varied institutions as a college, a nursery school, a hospital, and a children's home.

This ability to meet the public well makes many women successful as saleswomen. Hundreds of Detroit women do well in selling, sometimes behind the counter and sometimes by calls and appointments. They sell everything from cosmetics to automobiles.

One of the most important services offered Detroit business men is that given by private secretaries. In the 1880's most sec-

retaries were men, for a position which required a woman to be alone in an office with her male employer was not considered suitable for a "nice" girl. The years have changed that attitude, and today the private secretary is almost invariably a woman. She is a very important help to her employer and serves as buffer between him and the outside world. She often has such a sure grasp on the many details of his business that she is eye, ear and brain for him in many emergencies. In offices where management changes, it is frequently the secretary who must be relied upon for knowledge of previous policy. One of the best known of private secretaries in Detroit was the mayor's secretary at City Hall, the "continuing mayor," as she was called. Mayors came and went, but Mabel Ford, the capable secretary, stayed on, invaluable because of her ability and her experience.

In banks many women are officers and assistant managers. Often they direct the savings departments and public relations. A few hold top ranking positions, but banks have been slow to give full recognition to the ability of women.

Some women have the imagination to find unusual ways of using their abilities. Sometimes an artistic bent is made to serve industrial interest. One woman designs car interiors and acts as art consultant for several of the big motor companies. Another is doing artistic work in dental ceramics, and two young women have entered the field of industry recently as designers of automobile tires.

Many women have had successful careers in journalism. Perhaps one reason for this is that this work gives opportunity for varied interests. Women were engaged in magazine publishing and newspaper work before the Civil War. About the middle of the century numerous gazettes, miscellanies, and magazines of various kinds began to make an appearance, and lady editors were not uncommon. One of the most famous in the country was Margaret Fuller, editor under Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*. She was the first woman to be sent abroad as foreign correspondent for any paper. In Detroit Mrs. Lois Bryan Adams, who had been a contributor to the *New York Tribune*, bought a partnership in the *Michigan Farmer and Western Agriculturist* in 1854 and purchased the *Farmer's Companion*. She merged the two magazines as the *Michigan Farmer*, which she published first as a monthly and then as a weekly. She was in

charge of the literary part of the magazine and gave special attention to the Household Department. She also took over the business affairs of the magazine. When she sold her enterprise, in 1861, after more than usual success, she went to Washington to become a clerk in the Department of Agriculture, being one of the first women to hold such a federal position. Similarly able was Mrs. Electra Sheldon, who developed greater renown for her writing. Mrs. Sheldon bought the *Western Literary Miscellany*, one of the most popular magazines in Michigan, in 1853, and changed its name to the *Western Literary Cabinet*. In this she published a series of translations of papers concerning the early history of Detroit that Governor Cass had brought back from France when he was there as United States Minister. These translations formed a large part of the *Early History of Michigan*, which she published a few years later.

Other women had publishing ventures of various kinds. Mrs. M. J. E. Millar published the *Foundling* for some years for the Woman's Hospital and Foundling Home. The Board of the Home of the Friendless published its bulletin, the *Home Messenger* and in 1873 the *Home Messenger Cookbook*. The *Home Messenger* flagged for a time, but was revived in 1882 by Mrs. Livermore and published as a quarterly. The most ambitious of the publishing ventures was *Truth for the People*, a temperance weekly brought out between 1876 and 1878 by Mrs. Millar. Her platform was temperance—moral suasion for the individual and legal prohibition for the state, but she lightened her moral message with journalistic tidbits culled from many sources, such as the status of women in Japan, the average salary of teachers, and a recipe for the use of toasted frozen turnip on frostbitten feet. Mrs. Millar sold the *Truth* in 1878. It continued to be printed for two years longer. Two women writers directed a correspondence school, the Sprague School of Journalism. Lucy Leggett, a very brilliant woman, not only directed the school, but wrote the exercises, corrected the papers, and made the criticisms. She was succeeded by Mrs. Frances Nichols, an active member of the Women's Press Club.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century a number of women writers were connected with the newspapers in varying capacities. Clara Doty Bates was editor of the *Tribune* from 1867-1870, and Marie Watson Hamlin was an early editor

of the *Free Press*. In 1884 the editorial staff of the *Free Press* included Mrs. M. L. Rayne, the novelist, and Jennie O'Starkey. Janet Pruella Sherman of the *News* and Arestine Andrews, social editor of the *News-Tribune*, were well known early in the twentieth century, and Della T. Lutes began her writing career on the *Free Press*. An early member of the Detroit Press Association was Emma E. Bower, daughter of a newspaper man. When her father died leaving many debts, she took over his paper and made a success of it, paying off all the debts. For the Lady Macbees she was Great Record Keeper for many years.

Today a number of well-known women journalists serve Detroit through the columns of the press. Many of these, although not all, are connected with the women's pages and have established an unusually fine rapport with the women's groups in the city. That the newspaper should devote a section to women was a fairly early policy. In magazines of the mid-century there was often a Household Department. Lois Adams developed that department in the *Michigan Farmer*, giving women not only household hints but discussions of such matters as bringing up children and the early education of children. In 1878 the *Free Press* began putting out a weekly supplement designed for women, called *The Household*. Interest in society notes developed about the same time. In 1884 Alice Carey became editor of the *Detroit Society News*, a literary and society sheet, the first of its kind in Detroit. Today the woman's page is an important part of the paper, and the woman's editor holds a responsible position. Nearly all women turn to this section for something, finding in its columns not only hints for homemaking, fashion news, and society chit-chat, but accounts of what women are doing in the city and over the country. The women editors of Detroit papers show great understanding of women's needs in the practical advice they offer and in the information they give of women's accomplishments.

In a city as highly organized as Detroit, the activities of women are an important item. Their luncheons, teas, and fashion shows are more than social events. These are almost invariably given for some charity, the Good Will Industries, perhaps, or some civic cause. Detroit is fortunate in having club editors who cover these events exceedingly well and with remarkable fairness in the limited space allotted them. They recognize the civic

importance of these activities and through their publicity do much to help the causes for which women are working. In their reports of lectures and program planning, they help keep women abreast of much of the adult educational work of women's organizations.

Outside the women's pages, a number of women write other features. In the real estate section of one paper, a woman discusses interiors, remodelling, and home decoration, which proves an excellent adjunct to the main interest of buying and selling houses. For years a woman has given Detroit discriminating criticism of books and recently of movies, leaving her readers informed and interested. Another woman, well versed in art, has given long service in discussion of artists and exhibits. For many years an able horticulturist conducted an excellent garden column. One woman columnist comments daily on the civic, industrial, and political affairs of Detroit. Opportunities for editorial work or straight reporting are more limited for women, but one Italian woman has for many years shared editorial responsibility with her husband on the paper he edits, and the widow of the late owner of a large Polish daily is now publishing the paper.

The newspaper woman who left the sharpest imprint on Detroit was the editor for twenty years of "Experience," a letter column of the *Detroit News*. Annie Brown Leslie, or Nancy Brown, as she was known to her column family, was a New Englander by birth, and a graduate of Mount Holyoke College. She came to Detroit in 1920, a widow of nearly fifty. She had had some newspaper experience, and so she got a job on the *News*. In a short time she had started her column, bringing to it her own rich experience, common sense, sincerity, a keen sense of right and wrong linked with sympathetic understanding of those in trouble, and a high regard for worth wherever found. She was interested in people and their problems. Developing at a time when the psychology of human relations was just beginning to attract attention, her column had almost immediate success. People from all walks in life began to read it faithfully and to ask her questions. Some wrote only when in need of help; others wrote frequently, using always the same pen-name. Gradually readers began to know the members of the column family and to look for their letters. Sometimes they sent messages through Nancy. In 1930 one reader suggested a party for the column

family in the Art Institute. Nancy agreed and suggested that they meet by the little bronze donkey at eight-thirty in the evening. At seven-thirty that evening night traffic was hopelessly jammed around the Institute as more than thirty thousand persons tried to get near the building. Thousands were turned away. The editor-in-chief of the *News*, driving home that night, wondered what celebrity would possibly be drawing such a crowd, and was dumbfounded the next morning to learn that Nancy Brown, columnist on his own paper, was the attraction. It was a phenomenon unlike anything Detroit had ever known. Until then, no one had realized how great a following Nancy's column had.

Mrs. Leslie was generous herself and believed in the therapy of giving. She turned the love and gratitude of the correspondents she had helped toward the city and toward individuals who needed help. The response for all projects was generous beyond expectation. When it was suggested that the column undertake the reforestation of one forty-acre plot in Michigan, the contributions came so fast, that fourteen forty-acre plots were replanted in pine. The same spirit was shown in many projects, the most ambitious of which was the Peace Carrillon, or the Singing Tower, on Belle Isle, dedicated in 1940, paid for in pennies, quarters and dimes, even in silver balls of tin foil sent in by those who loved Nancy Brown. Its tall shaft reminds Detroit of a wise and kindly woman whose real monument, "more lasting than bronze," was built in the hearts of the people whose lives she touched.

On the radio, too, women have gained a place for themselves. Each of the principal stations has an able woman commentator who presents a daily program of general interest, directed primarily toward the women. The commentators often present interesting women visiting the city, and are generous in sharing their time with civic-minded women's groups who have projects to publicize. In other programs they present material for the home, recipes, household hints, talks on child care and interior decoration. One woman is a successful newscaster. An Italian woman initiated all the Italian radio programs. She buys several blocks of time, sells it again to advertisers, and plans programs. The Neapolitan Hour that she produces is very popular. A few years ago she was awarded the Cross of Solidarity by the Italian

government for her contribution to the development of friendly relations between Italy and the United States. A few other women have a hand in entertainment and the arrangement of programs. One good educational program for small children on radio and TV is the work of several Detroit women. For Detroit public schools a woman is director of radio and television education. With imagination and skill she has written script for all sorts of educational and entertaining programs, has encouraged others to do the same, has trained numerous high school students to take part in these programs, to direct them and to learn something of the mechanics of radios, and has shown teachers how radio might become an effective instrument of teaching.

On television women have been quick to seize opportunities, although the field is new and competition is keen. Several Detroit women have made a place for themselves in the women's programs and fill a real need in many homes. At least one woman buys time for her own program.

One of the newest occupations open to women is aviation. The first Detroit woman to apply for a license to fly a plane was a newspaper woman who used her flying experience as a source of material for her articles on aviation. Detroit now has a number of women pilots, about a dozen of whom belong to the Ninety Nines Inc., the international organization for women pilots formed in 1929 by Amelia Earhart. One of these has just completed her term as president of the national organization. She has participated in the transcontinental races which serve to keep efficient women pilots available in event of emergency and has been active in the educational training program offered girl cadets under the Civil Air Patrol. About two hundred Detroit girls received this training in 1952-53.

It took courage and ability, and still does, for a woman to succeed in business, but in many ways it is easier for a woman to reach the top in business than in the professional world. This is not true of nursing and teaching, which from the beginning of time have been open to women and for which women's interests and sympathies have especially adapted them. Nor is it true of the social field, where women hold many important positions. In 1930 seventy-eight percent of social workers were women. The large proportion of women in this field has been a natural development, for the trained professional workers have in many in-

stances followed in the train of volunteer women by whom the philanthropies were often started. A glance at the roster of the United Foundation will show the important work women are doing in handling many of the social agencies, settlements, camps, clinics, recreation centers, and children's homes all over the city. Women head many of the large hospitals, they direct the far flung work of the YWCA, they head the Girl Scouts, and direct the International Institute. They carry on, with the help of volunteers, the great social program of the League of Catholic Women and the Jewish Welfare Fund, and a large part of the work in the United Community Services.

In medicine and law the role of women was more difficult. In spite of the many learned women of the past, and the many girls in this country who sought higher education and who, refused admission to any college, often taught themselves Greek and Latin, the colleges in America with almost no exception remained closed to women until after the Civil War. A few seminaries, notably Mount Holyoke, founded by Mary Lyon in 1837, gave advanced education, as did Wesleyan Seminary at Albion, founded in 1835 for "men, Indians and ladies," and the Female Institute at Kalamazoo, but these did not give degrees. Oberlin, the first college to introduce co-education, gave its first degrees to women in 1841, although women had been in attendance since the opening of the college in 1833. There was agitation in Michigan from 1850 on to have the University opened to women. A few courses in art and history were opened to them, but they were not admitted to full work until 1870. Before this, in 1865, Vassar College, the first college planned for women and giving a degree equivalent to that given by men's colleges, had opened. It speaks well for the intellectual interest of Detroit girls that two of the first class of four young women to be graduated in 1867 were from Detroit, Harriet Warner and Maria Dickinson.

When the University of Michigan opened to women in 1870, the professional schools as well as the College of Liberal Arts were opened to them, but the lot of the woman student was not easy. The young women who entered that first class of the Medical School had to face not only the disapproval of some of their own sex, but the antagonism of the male students and most of the faculty, some of whom refused to have them in their classes. The complete disregard of the many brilliant women

who had been engaged in the profession of medicine and surgery from earliest times and who had held professorships in European universities is incomprehensible.

From earliest times women have been doctors of the human race. They were the ones who experimented with herbs, who cared for women in travail, and who did what they could for warriors injured in battle. In a Berlin museum the medicine chest of an Egyptian queen from 2300 B.C. may be seen. Egyptian women were famous for their medical work. The Queen Hatasu ignored by H. G. Wells was recognized widely for her interest in health, medicine and sanitation. Perhaps the Hebrew women learned their medical skill in Egypt, for frequent references in the Bible and the Talmud show that Hebrew women were skilled midwives, accustomed to multiple births and able to manipulate the child in the womb. They also performed obstetrical operations. Among the Greeks the daughters of Aesculapius, Hygeia and Panacea, were often represented in art as treating patients. Hippocrates is said to have established two great medical schools where women as well as men were given instruction, and he writes of the able women physicians in Greece. When Greek women were taken to Rome as slaves after the fall of Corinth, the medical women brought the highest prices. In Rome, Pliny mentions women authors of books on medicine, and Mark Anthony's wife, Octavia, is said to have studied medicine and practiced it in her home. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries women physicians were everywhere. During the seventh century many of them trained at Alexandria, one of the best medical schools in existence. Great ladies, Queen Radigonda of Thuringia, and Ethelberga and Hilda, great abbesses of England, founded hospitals and trained the nuns to heal and nurse. In Germany Ottila became a great eye specialist in the eighth century. In the Middle Ages at Salerno, which was held in high repute as a medical school, women played an important part in teaching and healing. There is extant an official document, given at Salerno, that permits Francesca Romana to practice, indicating that she had been examined by the learned surgeons and given a license. One of the greatest of women doctors was Hildegard of the Rhine country in the twelfth century, whose writings on medicine filled many volumes and were published a number of times before the sixteenth century. A recent study of the work

of this learned lady points out that she knew many things unknown to most doctors of the period and that she had an unusually scientific approach to her material.

During the next few centuries the tendency of the church to block scientific inquiry and the widespread fear of being accused of witchcraft turned many women from the art of medicine. After that men physicians began to oppose the practice of medicine by women. As more schools opened and licenses were required women were not encouraged to take up medicine, and often were not permitted to enter the schools of medicine. But long before women were permitted to enter the medical schools in this country, there were able women teaching in European universities. Maria dalle Donna occupied a chair in medicine and surgery at the University of Bologna in 1802, and several learned women were teaching anatomy. At the University of Ferrara, Maria Petraccini Terretti drew students from all over Europe to her lectures in medicine and anatomy. Yet, half a century later young women in America were made to feel that in taking up the study of medicine they were doing something indelicate, almost indecent, and something entirely unprecedented.

The first woman doctor to brave this opposition in Detroit was Dr. Lucy Arnold, who had taken her degree at the New England College of Medicine in Boston and who opened an office in Detroit in 1869.* The second Detroit doctor was Dr. Sarah Gertrude Banks of Walled Lake, a member of the first class at the University of Michigan to admit women. After a year's residency at Woman's Hospital she opened her office and quickly identified herself with welfare work and civic causes that promised better health for the city or increased opportunities for women. She was active in organizing the Young Woman's Home and establishing the first playgrounds. Another member of that first class was Frances Helen Warner, sister of Harriet Warner Bishop, one of Detroit's best loved teachers. Dr. Warner was the first woman from Detroit to go abroad for graduate study in medicine. After work in Vienna she came back to Detroit and practiced for twenty-five years in her own office and on the staff, both at Woman's Hospital and at Harper. In 1885 she was asked to give a paper before the Detroit Medical and Library

* One authority indicates that she took her training in the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia.

Association on the treatment of women after childbirth. Undoubtedly it was the first paper to be presented by a woman to that group.

Other women doctors followed, many of them finding their first opportunity in the Woman's Hospital, where a woman physician was always welcome. Among them were Dr. Elizabeth Deuel, the first woman asked to become a member of the Medical and Library Association. By 1890 seven women had been asked to join the Medical Association. Dr. Florence Huson was the first woman surgeon in Detroit and the founder in 1893, with Dr. Banks, of the Free Dispensary for women and children. In 1890 she was the only woman physician who received patients as boarders, giving them the benefit of her daily care. In 1889, according to the *Free Press*, a wave of homeopathists struck the city. The first woman homeopathist was Dr. Beatrice Taylor; she was followed by Dr. Mary Willard, a woman of so strong a personality that she was soon nominated for school inspector. Others were Dr. Louise Orleman, Dr. Mary Miller, Dr. Virginia Smith and Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens.

Dr. Mary Stevens was to spend the next fifty-five years of her life in Detroit, contributing in countless ways to the well being of the city. She came to Detroit with her young doctor husband, determined on a joint career. She had worked too hard for her medical education, she thought, to give it up when she married. As all the women doctors did, she faced prejudice. One day a pregnant patient told her that she was going to change to a man doctor, feeling that a childless woman doctor was hardly competent to handle childbirth. Dr. Mary listened quietly and then asked with some irony, "And to how many children has this gentleman doctor given birth?" After her own baby came she gradually limited her practice, taking only a few former patients who refused to go elsewhere.

Other women who contributed to the city as able women and doctors, were Dr. Elizabeth Farrand, Dr. Alice Howes, Dr. Florence Chadwick, Dr. Lucy Utter, called one of the most brilliant of the women physicians and the last woman to graduate from the old Michigan College of Medicine before it consolidated with the Detroit College of Medicine. Others were Dr. Mary Haskins, Dr. Harriet Gerry, whose mother was one of the earliest doctors in Michigan, and Dr. Isabella Holdom. Dr. Holdom had taken

nurses training at Harper Hospital and had then entered the Detroit College of Medicine, nursing nights and during vacations to support herself and her two little children. Early in her career she was once called in consultation in a diphtheria case, for she was known to be very good in handling fevers. When she arrived, however, the other doctor, a man, refused to consult with a woman and left the house. Later Dr. Holdom became widely known as a medical examiner for the Lady Maccabees. On foot, or with a horse and buggy, these women went about their work, never demanding recognition, but accepting it quietly when it came. Slowly but surely they won recognition for women in medicine.

Today about two hundred women doctors contribute to the health of metropolitan Detroit. Internships in all hospitals are available to them though not easily obtainable. They belong to the Wayne County Medical Association, and to the Blackwell branch of the American Medical Women's Association. They are doing research, they work in city departments of health, as school examiners, in commercial and industrial plants, as staff physicians in all hospitals, in public and private institutions for the mentally ill, and in private practice. They specialize in all fields: dermatology, pediatrics, internal medicine, obstetrics, gynecology, orthopedics, pathology, and occasionally in surgery. Dr. Suzanne Sanderson, who has practiced for many years, was one of the early surgeons in Detroit. Dr. Myra Babcock established the course in anaesthesia for nurses at Grace Hospital and served as chief anaesthetist for many years. Many surgeons would have no other. One woman pediatrician is so highly regarded by doctors that many call her for their own children. Several women are members of the staff of the College of Medicine of Wayne University. Evidence of the general status of women doctors in Detroit is to be found in the scheduled meetings for 1956 of the Pan-American Medical Women's Society.

Although women are known to have pleaded their cases in the law courts of ancient Rome, and Shakespeare's Portia suggests that women lawyers were not unknown at a later period, far fewer women turned at first to law than to medicine. Figures for Detroit support this general situation. The Law School of

the University of Michigan opened to women in 1870, the same year the Medical School opened, but women lawyers were slower than women doctors in establishing their practice in Detroit. In 1890 there were eighteen practicing women physicians, but no practicing woman lawyer. Records show that a "female lawyer" appeared in the police courts in 1869, but who she was or what she did is not known. Some women lawyers came to the city in the late '80's, Martha Strickland Clark and Mary Stuart Coffin, but the first woman to be admitted to practice in Wayne County was Elizabeth (Lizzie) McSweeney, in 1895. Miss McSweeney was the first woman to graduate from the Detroit College of Law founded in 1891. Merria Abbott came to Detroit in 1899 when the Supreme Court of Michigan ruled that she was ineligible to serve as prosecuting attorney in Ogemaw County, an office to which she had been elected in 1898. The Court's opinion was based on the fact that only electors could serve in a constitutional office. Since she was not an elector, it ruled, she could not serve. It is interesting to note that one justice wrote a strong dissenting opinion: "The statutes of this state confer upon women the right to practice law. . . . She may defend a person charged with murder. Can she not also prosecute one charged with larceny of a whip?"

Later, as the law schools of the University of Detroit and of Wayne University were organized, the opportunities for study increased. These schools were particularly friendly and encouraging to women students. Many women lawyers, especially in the early days when they were unsure of professional opportunities, have taken their law courses while working in other fields. This willingness to carry a double load is evidence of the compelling force of their desire to enter the profession of law. One of these early, determined students was Harriet Marsh, one of three brilliant sisters who devoted their lives to teaching. Harriet was principal of the Hancock School and took her law work to satisfy the desire she had always had to follow in her father's footsteps. She did not practice, but remained close to the profession all her life.

In 1919 a group of women lawyers decided to form a professional association that would give them an opportunity for the discussion of problems, the exchange of ideas, and the promotion of ways to help women lawyers and to serve the community. The

charter members of the Women Lawyers' Association formed at this time were Theresa Doland, Mabel Rix, Henrietta Rosenthal, Mary Wetsman and Harriet Marsh. Their social contacts strengthened their professional ties and created a feeling of solidarity. They brought noted women lawyers and jurists to address them, and they themselves, in turn, encouraged women students in law schools and helped them become established. In the community they joined other women's organizations in a legislative council which endorsed legislation helpful to women and children, particularly improvements in the mothers' pension laws. Seeing the advantages of a non-partisan judiciary in the Recorder's Court, they suggested to the judges a non-partisan judiciary in the Circuit Court. The idea was rejected at the time, but later when the city ceased to be dominated by one party, the change was soon voted in. They pointed out to the Friend of the Court that women lawyers were fitted for a place on his staff, where a woman's point of view was sorely needed. Years were needed to establish this point, but today women lawyers serve ably on that staff. By constantly keeping before the public the fact that there are many able women lawyers in the city, the Women Lawyers' Association has helped create a climate favorable to women. Records show 558 women lawyers in the country in 1910 compared with 9,015 women doctors. But in 1930 the balance had shifted greatly. There were only 8,368 women doctors and 3,385 women lawyers. Today in Detroit there are well over a hundred women practicing law.

The women lawyers are doing valuable and varied work. One is a specialist in aeronautical law and claims against the government, another in patent law, and another in labor law. Others are recognized as authorities in estate law and in corporation law. There are women serving as assistant corporation counsel, as assistant prosecuting attorney and as assistant attorney general. A woman lawyer is chief parole officer in the Detroit area of the State Corrections Department. The supervisor of the Women's Probation Department of the Recorder's Court is a woman lawyer. As associates in large law firms, women do valuable research in specialized fields. A number of husband and wife teams practice together in all fields. Fewer women have specialized in criminal law, but several Detroit women have chosen this field, among them three able negro women lawyers.

In other professions women are less numerous, but there is hardly one in which women are not found. A number of women dentists over the city have successful practices. Frequently women specialize in children's work, for some children are less timid about going to a woman dentist than to a man. Some women interested in dentistry, but not wanting to take the full dental course, take up oral hygiene and often assume all of that work for dentists. A few women have owned and operated their own pharmacies, some as registered pharmacists.

There are several successful women architects. One woman, a specialist in city planning, has had an unusual experience in community planning. When after the war the Dupont Corporation wished to turn back to individual ownership and control the town it had built, owned, and governed for its local workers, she was called upon to make a long range plan. She worked out a ten-year conversion plan arranging for the buying of homes by the workers, for the financing, for the possible increased housing needs, for the economic development and for the political organization. Her appointment to the City Plan Commission a few years ago gives the city the value of her experience. There are also a few women in the field of landscape architecture, one of whom designed the grounds of the Lochmoor Golf Club.

In the field of engineering there is a growing opportunity for women. The number of women engineers is still relatively small, but it is increasing rapidly. An early engineer, although she lacked the professional training, was the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, who preached for several months in the Church of Our Father in Detroit. After she gave up her church in Kalamazoo, Mrs. Crane entered what she called the "ministry of sanitation," but which was really a kind of engineering job. She made surveys of sanitary conditions—water works, sewers, garbage disposal and smoke nuisance—in sixty cities in fourteen states under the auspices of local organizations and state boards of health. Since then a number of women graduate engineers have served Detroit. One of these women had complete charge of the cost unit at Michigan Bell Telephone and made studies for plant extension and installations there. Others are directors of laboratories and research for several large companies and faculty members of the School of Engineering at Wayne University.

In all fields of science brilliant women are heading research.

Occasionally, women develop a scientific interest as an avocation, as did May Cahn (Mrs. Joseph) in the early '20's. Urged by her doctor to live outdoors as much as possible, she devoted herself so zealously to the study of fungi that she was able to collect and classify specimens of hitherto unlisted mushrooms for the annual reports of Professor Kaufman of Ann Arbor on the biological and geological life of Michigan. Today in the colleges and the universities, in hospitals, in industrial plants and in pharmaceutical laboratories well trained women are doing work which, though little heralded outside the scientific world, is of great value to many aspects of human life and to industrial development in Detroit. One woman has for many years published results of studies in nutrition made in connection with the Merrill-Palmer School and the Children's Fund of Michigan. Recently a woman seed analyst represented the Ferry-Morse Seed Company at an international conference in Ireland.

The growing awareness of the importance of psychology has opened many positions to women psychologists and psychiatrists in the courts, in clinics, in schools and institutions, and in private practice. The chief psychologist of the psychopathic clinic of the Recorder's Court is a woman who has served in that capacity for twenty-five years.

There is today a fine solidarity among business and professional women, a professional attitude which goes back to the organization in 1912 of the Detroit Business Woman's Club, thought to be the first of its kind in the country. It was founded by Emma Spoor, Emily Butterfield, Grace Wright, and Dr. Rhoda Farquharson. The club set the pattern to be followed in later organizations, admitting only business executives and professional women, and only a limited number in each classification. After the national organization of business and professional women in 1918, a number of groups were formed in Detroit. In 1919 a Detroit group was one of the founding members of Zonta, which soon became an international organization for business and professional women. Since then branches of four other national and international organizations for business and professional women have been formed in Detroit: Soroptimist, Altrusa, Quota and Pilot.

In all these groups women find wider opportunities for friendship, business or professional contacts, and community service.

They offer scholarships to encourage girls to continue their study for professional or business careers. They work for the professional and economic advancement of women the world over. From Guatemala the Soroptimists brought a woman to do work in social science at Wayne University and paid her expenses for two years. The Quota Club has supported a Chinese woman doing graduate work in music at Wayne University. Zonta Club began its international work at the grass roots level by financing the building of three schools in devastated Europe. All the groups contribute to community projects such as the Cancer Detection Bureau, the YWCA, the International Institute and the Girl Scouts. Zonta gave generously to rehabilitate a slum area community center and has for several years maintained a club room for the YWCA group of Wayne University. The Pilot Club supports every year a Wayne University student entering some profession. They have also "adopted" Booth Memorial Hospital and give time, interest and money to help rehabilitate the young unmarried mothers, both in the hospital and when they leave. Help for "elderly friends" is a newer interest with all the groups, and Altrusa has set up a plan of offering vocational guidance to older women trying to find occupation. To encourage excellence in achievement among women the Soroptimist Club names a "Woman of the Year." In 1952 this group chose nearly 250 Detroit women whose portraits they exhibited as Detroit's women of achievement. Any acquaintance with the leading business and professional women of Detroit will reveal that not only are they an important part of the business structure of the city, but that they are valuable civic leaders and that they make generous contribution to the philanthropies of the city as well as initiating numerous projects of their own for the advancement of women and girls.

For every woman engaged in business and the professions there are several employed in industry. Factories were established early in the nineteenth century in Detroit. By 1837 women were weaving in the mills, and in 1840 the newly organized Miller Cigar Company found that women's fingers did well in the making of cigars. By 1914, twelve thousand women were employed in this industry alone. Candymaking was another work for which women were adapted. Toward the end of the century the Carhart Overall Company, the Heinz Pickle and the American Lady

Corset factories were employing women in large numbers. The development of the automobile industry called for thousands of workers, some of them women, but not until the first world war did women in large numbers enter the automobile plants. When the war began women were called to many other jobs as well. They ran street cars and cabs, they did farm work and replaced men in many activities.

Between 1918 and 1941, although many women left their war time jobs, some willingly and some because these jobs were given back to returning soldiers, the position of women in industry was on the whole consolidated. More and more women took jobs outside the home. In 1951 there were fifty thousand women employed in industry in Wayne County. This egress of women from the home was a natural development. As the work once done in the home, the laundering, garment-making, canning, nursing, teaching, and to a certain extent cooking, was taken out of the home, women followed these occupations into factories where they performed them on a large scale. At the same time the expanding economy of the nation and the city opened many more opportunities to women, while the demand for a higher standard of living and the resulting financial pressure led women to seek for ways to increase the family income.

During World War II the number of women in industry leaped to astronomical heights. Women went to work as welders, riveters, grinders, and precision experts. In short, there was hardly an industrial job that women did not undertake, and successfully, too. Women's work made it possible for Detroit to become the arsenal of democracy.

After this war, the number of employed women again dropped somewhat. There was a tendency at times and in places to discriminate against women in order to insure financial security for men, but it finally became apparent that women in industry were not a threat to man's security. In 1951 there were nineteen million women in industry in the United States, about 30.8 per cent of the total labor force.

The influence of labor unions has of course been strong among women workers of Detroit, and many women have done much work with the unions. One of the first was Rose McBrearty, who became one of the best known "lady workers" in the ranks of trade unionism in the 1880's in America. She became connected



"Oh, Egbert, isn't this restful?"

Life, 1920

with organized labor when her trade, the candy makers of Detroit, were organized by the Knights of Labor. Night after night she went from house to house, canvassing unorganized labor, spreading the principles of organized labor. She was the first woman delegate to the Michigan Federation of Labor and was treasurer for two years of the Detroit Trades Council. The United Garment Workers were organized in Detroit about 1890, when Local 75 was formed at Carhart's Overall factory under the presidency of Liesha Nangel. She was a veteran worker, peacemaking rather than militant, and labor conditions at Carhart's, which was 100 per cent organized, were excellent. Miss Nangel is said to have worked at her machine until two weeks before her death at the age of ninety-three. Katherine Dell succeeded her as president. She encouraged gym classes and choral groups and got Mr. Carhart to support them. The women formed a band, which he sent around the country at his expense. Belonging to the unions took courage in the early days for women workers, for many people disapproved highly of women's joining them. One of the early workers tells of her minister looking pointedly down at her feet when she told him of her union activity to see if she had developed the cloven hoof.

Progress, however, has been steady. The International Congress of Working Women called in Washington in 1919 encouraged women to join unions and this action led gradually to the breaking down of the prejudices against women that developed after the first world war. Similar breaking down has had to be repeated after World War II, but ground is being held and for the most part enlarged. In Detroit a number of women hold important positions in the unions. One is head of the Women's Division of the Fair Practices Department of the UAW-CIO and is frequently called to Washington for conferences. Recently, another was appointed vice-president of the International A.F. of L. Waiters Union, in which capacity she controls 117 national unions in six of the North Central states. In most unions men and women work together, and it is difficult to separate women's activity from that of the group. The unions have decidedly improved the conditions of work for women. They have fought for equal pay for equal work, a long step forward from the time in 1890 when the women in Carhart's said they did not believe women should get as much pay as men. They have worked for

the protection of children, for maternity leave provisions, for fair employment practices and for a change in the income tax law which would allow a working mother to deduct the expense of having her children cared for during her working day.

That women play a permanent and important part in business and industry is very clear, and many signs indicate that the proportion of women gainfully employed will increase. Young women no longer give up their positions as a matter of course when they marry. Nor do many men expect or even wish this. Records show that two-thirds of the women in industry in 1951 were or had been married. The necessity of choosing between marriage and a career is no longer forced upon woman. Sometimes it may seem that a family is sacrificed; on the other hand, a job often makes the family possible. There are various reasons for this large increase in the number of married working women. Very important is economic necessity. Statistics gathered by the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department show that eight out of ten women work to support themselves or their families. With some women, their desire to enter business or a profession grows out of ability or special interests or the wish for self-realization in work of some kind. The married woman today does not always drop her interest in this work. She can take a few years off to start her family and then, if conditions are favorable, bring up her children and hold a position at the same time.

This dual job is not easy. Conditions must be favorable. That means that the labor and responsibility of the home and the children must be shared by men and women alike, just as the support of the home is shared by both. It means that society must recognize the social change that has taken place and expect to provide more services for the care and protection of the children of working mothers. Only in this way will women working outside the home be able to make the progress they are capable of making and attain full realization of their abilities.

Women in Public Affairs

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES, history contains records of women as heads of tribes and leaders of great states. These women possessed great administrative ability and understanding of people. One of the ablest of the Pharaohs was a woman. The Dowager Empress of China, Queens Elizabeth I and Victoria of England, Elinor of Aquitaine, Isabella of Spain, Catherine the Great of Russia are familiar names in history. They were great individuals and stand out from among other women rulers just as certain kings and rulers stand out more prominently than others down through the centuries. Some were noted for their devotion to the arts of peace, were students of medicine and philosophy, established hospitals and encouraged learning among their people. Some waged war ruthlessly and extended the power of their domain. In whatever they did, they demonstrated great qualities of leadership.

In every period of history there have been women in positions of power who have supported opposing sides of conflicts within the state. In the recent world war in the struggle between the forces of freedom and those seeking to enslave man in the totalitarian states, zealous women leaders were battling on both sides. Anna Pauker, powerful, cruel and ruthless Communist leader of Roumania, stands in sharp contrast to Lady Stella Reading of England, devotee of the Western concept of democracy, who organized and directed millions of women in the Women's Voluntary Services to work wherever they were needed to lessen suffering and carry on civil functions.

* This chapter was written by Mrs. Lola Jeffries Hanavan.

In the United States during periods when great moral and economic issues have shaken the country, as during the War of Independence, the Civil War, the Temperance, Suffrage and Prohibitionist movements, women have been leaders on both sides of the controversy. Since suffrage a few women have risen to prominence in both major political parties. As a result of this there have been a few who have attained to the position of Ambassador, United States Senator, Congressman, federal judge, cabinet member, director of a federal bureau, governor and state legislator. These able national figures have had their counterpart in many local communities where mayors, councilmen, judges and department heads have been women.

In Detroit and Michigan women's opportunities for public office increased significantly with the granting of full suffrage to them by the State of Michigan in 1918. This law was the result of men and women working together.

It is noteworthy that some of the organizations that assisted in bringing this about consisted of both men and women and that their efforts cover a long period previous to the enactment of the amendment. The Men's State League for Woman Suffrage was organized by the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association in 1911 with Levi T. Barbour as president. University of Michigan Alumnae will remember him well as the donor of Barbour Gym, where all women's social activities took place for many years before the building of the Michigan League. The Detroit Equal Suffrage Club was founded in 1886 by Senator Thomas Palmer with Mrs. Helen Jenkins as president.

When American women were enfranchised in 1920, it was thought that their vote would be used immediately for big reform movements. But that did not happen. It quickly became apparent that not all women realized that the privilege of the ballot carried with it a responsibility to use it adequately and that an extensive program of education was in order to help them to realize this and to keep them supplied with accurate and impartial information about current issues.

The Wayne County Equal Suffrage League, the largest suffrage organization in Detroit became the Wayne County League of Women Voters. As was to be expected, when their mission was accomplished, most of the other local suffrage organizations disbanded and the more enthusiastic members went into other civic

groups that concerned themselves with the problem of removing all social and legal discriminations against women. The winning of the vote did not, automatically, remove these discriminations. Women still had to win the right, in some states, to equality in possession of their children; the right to collect their own wages; the right, if married, to make a contract in their own names; the right to retain their citizenship, if married to aliens; the right to equality in control of property and in rights of inheritance. Women have struggled hard for equal pay for equal work.

The methods to be used in removing these inequalities caused a split in opinion of great national suffrage leaders. The National Woman's Party took the position that equality could best be secured by an amendment to the federal Constitution. They sponsored the Equal Rights Amendment, which read simply:

"Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this Act by appropriate legislation."

On the other hand, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and several other large national women's groups, have strongly opposed the Equal Rights Amendment. They have contended that the way to eliminate discrimination against women is to remove the individual inequities state by state while retaining the protection afforded to women under present laws. That such responsible groups traveling to the same destination should differ profoundly over the way to get there is indicative of the complexity of the problem.

The Detroit branch of the League of Women Voters has gained strength through the years and is one of the most effective non-partisan groups for the education of women in government. Their most notable contribution lies in the collection and dissemination of intelligent, non-partisan information about candidates and measures, to which they give wide publicity. The press of Detroit has made a practice for some years of printing their material fully with favorable editorial comments as to its importance and value. They encourage women to work within the established political parties. Mrs. Belle Brotherton was an outstanding example of one who worked hard for the League and also in an existing political party. She founded the Wayne County Women's Republican Club in 1919, with Mrs. John McDonough

as its first president. The Wayne County Women's Democratic Club was founded in 1922, with Marie Comstock as its first president.

Women did not flock into political parties, but when they did join, they rang doorbells to get out the vote, vital but time-consuming work. However, they performed their tasks well and made a real contribution as local party members. But when it came time to pass out the political plums, few women were remembered. There has been very limited opportunity for women to share in party councils at the top level. As one man said, who was opposed to women's participation in party work, "Let 'em lick stamps." In 1920 the National Democratic Party adopted a resolution providing for one national committee woman as well as one national committee man, with equal power, from each state for the National Committee. In 1924 the Republicans adopted the same plan. Detroit women have been elected to these positions in both parties, a Republican member from Detroit receiving the further honor of being the first woman elected to the national secretaryship of her party. Recently a Detroit woman has served as a member of the National Republican Finance Committee.

In 1944 Detroit women were instrumental in having a plank adopted by both the Republican and Democratic National conventions favoring the placing of qualified women in policy making positions. In 1948 and 1952 several Detroit women served as delegates to the national conventions of both parties. In 1936, 1940 and 1944, Democratic women secured a rule of order on the agenda of the National Democratic Convention that there be an equal number of men and women delegates at large as well as alternates.

In 1938 a provision was added to the state election laws providing for equal representation for men and women on all political committees in both state and county. This rule was observed strictly until a later law, which altered the status of county and congressional district party organization, made no mention of sex in the selection of party officers.

In Michigan both large political parties elect women as vice-chairmen of their state committees in charge of the women's work. Detroit women have served for several years in this capacity in both parties. In 1952 the state Democratic campaign

manager was a woman, a skilled organizer and worker.

Since the education of the child has always been of prime concern to mothers, it is natural that the first woman in public office should be in that field. The very first school board in Detroit in 1842 appointed a committee of women to inspect the primary schools. In 1889 and again in 1891 Mrs. Sophronia Parsons, a mathematics teacher in the Detroit Female Seminary, was elected to the Board of Education from the Fourth Ward, and Mrs. Emma Fox was elected from her ward in 1893. Mrs. John Trix and Mrs. Carrie Oostdyck, hard workers for good schools, were Mrs. Fox's chief supporters. Twenty-four years elapsed before another woman, Mrs. Laura Osborn, was elected to the Board in 1917, where she has served continuously ever since. It was not until 1949, thirty-two years later, that more women were elected to the Board and now constitute a majority—four of the seven member board.

The year 1918 was a momentous one for Detroit women: World War I ended; suffrage was granted to Michigan women by state law; and a new Detroit city charter was adopted. Public opinion was increasingly favorable to the idea that women would make good public officials. They had demonstrated their ability in war time jobs. Their winning of the vote made them a force to be reckoned with politically, although they were still an unknown quantity. The many non-partisan commissions, set up under the new charter, created the necessity for the mayor to appoint new commissioners. So the favorable climate and the jobs were present at the same time. Even so, progress was slow but steady. Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh had been appointed to the Recreation Commission in 1914, soon after it was set up, but not until the new charter was adopted was another woman appointed to a city commission. In 1918 Minnie Stotts Jeffries, long active in child welfare work in Detroit and state chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, was appointed to the Public Welfare Commission, where she served for eleven years. Mrs. Paul Tara succeeded her. Since then there has always been one woman member of that Commission and in 1950 a second woman was appointed.

In 1920 scandal erupted in the conduct of the Detroit House of Correction; and a woman, Dr. Mary Thompson Stevens, was appointed to the House of Correction Commission because of her

knowledge of handling people and of prison reform. She served until 1922 when Mrs. Katherine Campbell was appointed, and there has always been a qualified woman member of the Detroit House of Correction Commission since.

In 1919 rumors were rife of cruelty in the handling of delinquent girls, aged twelve to nineteen years, in the State Training School for Girls at Adrian. An investigating committee was appointed by the state Legislature, headed by Delbert C. James. Recognizing the ability of women to act effectively in situations like this the legislators invited a committee of women from the Twentieth Century Club to act with them, the committee consisting of Mrs. Delbert C. James, Katherine Campbell and Minnie Stotts Jeffries. Their recommendations were adopted by the Legislature, and radical reforms were made both in providing better education and in the treatment of the girls.

In 1940 some acceleration in the rate of appointments of women to Detroit commissions began, due to a newly elected mayor who had a high regard for women's abilities. There has been a woman member on the Public Welfare and Detroit House of Correction commissions, from 1918 and 1920, respectively. A woman was executive director of the Detroit Housing Commission and at the same time there was a woman member of the commission, in 1934. Within the 1940-45 period ten women were appointed to five additional commissions, Housing, Planning, Recreation, Art and Historical, the greatest gain for any five-year period up to that time. Women have retained their positions on those commissions to the present, succeeding mayors appointing the same or new women members. Members of the Detroit Library Commission are appointed by the Board of Education, the president of the latter being an ex-officio member. It was not until 1951 that they appointed a woman other than a Board member to serve in that capacity.

The government of Wayne County is in the hands of ninety-eight supervisors who elect the members of the boards of county institutions. There has always been a woman member of the Wayne County Board of County Institutions since it was set up in 1944. This Board administers the large Wayne County General Hospital for the aged sick and indigent. On the Board of the Wayne County Training School for feeble-minded children, Jennie Patton Beattie (Mrs. Robert) served for many years, to



The 1920 Girl: *I wonder if he is after me or my vote?*

Life, 1920

be succeeded by another able woman.

Out of the ninety-eight county supervisors, the Detroit City Council appoints twenty-one members annually. These, added to certain ex-officio members from the city administration, constitute Detroit's representation on the county governing board. Since the Detroit city government became highly organized under a civil service law these appointments of county supervisors constitute a little precious patronage for the councilmen. Therefore, when women demonstrated little voting strength or unity, the councilmen had a tendency to reward their campaign supporters, mostly men, with this honor and authority. During the thirty years after the granting of state suffrage, only a few scattered appointments of women as Wayne County supervisors were made. It was not until women organized with the purpose of putting qualified women into public policy-making positions and of carrying on an intensive educational program to arouse all women to their responsibility in sharing the burdens of public office and of making important decisions on public questions that this attitude has changed. Since 1943 upwards of twenty-five women have served more than fifty woman years on the Board of Supervisors.

A steady change has been taking place in the political climate of Detroit as far as women in public office is concerned. This has been the result of the deep desire of Detroit women to participate in their government. There have been competent women in Detroit who as individuals have won recognition for their sex; but women as a whole have had to struggle against traditions brought from the Old World and a predominance in the male population. Only in the last few years has the number of women exceeded slightly the number of men. Another contributing factor to this change in political climate is the increasing number of women with specialized education and business experience. A third factor is a basic sense of fair play and a growing understanding that society benefits when common problems are solved by men and women working together.

It will be observed that there was a large increase in the percentage of women's vote to the total vote cast in 1944 and a further increase in 1952. The war may have accounted for some of it in 1944 but certainly not in 1952. The increase can be traced to women's own efforts to arouse and educate Detroit women to

the fact that they have a responsibility to use their ballot.

A few figures on the voting record of women are enlightening:

<u>Year November Election</u>	<u>Total Votes Cast</u>	<u>Number Women Voting</u>	<u>Percentage of Women's Vote to Total Vote</u>
1920	277,786	102,704	36.9
1932	453,820	165,272	36.4
1944	716,155	317,529	44.34
1952	844,397	396,201	46.9

In the last decade many of the business, professional and women's service groups organized committees on the status of women. Their research indicated clearly the scarcity of women at the top level of activity in all fields. One such committee from the Detroit Zonta Club made a survey in 1943 which revealed that only eleven women had held either elective or appointive policy-making positions in the Michigan state government during the years 1920-40. The state had been more backward than Detroit in that respect. When this committee waited upon the governor and pointed this out to him, urging him to appoint qualified women, he said that he would be glad to but that he did not know any. His statement, coupled with a growing realization on the part of many women's organizations that much might be done to bring especially qualified women to the attention of those having appointive power, led at once to the formation of the Inter-Group Council for Women as Public Policy Makers. Zonta's chairman of their Status-of-Women Committee called together Detroit representatives of seven large national women's organizations to form the Inter-Group Council for the purpose of discovering qualified women who might be urged for appointment to public office.

That the problem was recognized as having nation-wide importance is indicated by the fact that a national conference was called in Washington, D. C., in January, 1944, by the National Achievement Award Committee on the Role of Women in Policy Making. This committee, concerned over the worldwide threat to the status of women, had called together the heads of several large national women's organizations,* women leaders in mixed

* National Association of Deans of Women, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Sigma Delta Epsilon, American Home Economics Association, American Red Cross, American Women's Voluntary Services, American Federation of Labor, American Legion Auxiliary, Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Democratic and the Republican National committees, and the Chi Omega Woman's Fraternity.

groups, together with a number of other distinguished women who had been the recipients of their National Achievement Award. A Detroit woman delegate brought their thinking and "statement of opinion" back to the Inter-Group Council and this statement was adopted as the purpose of the Inter-Group Council.

The object of the Inter-Group Council is through united effort:

- (1) To educate women and men to the need of having qualified women in public office;
- (2) To place women in policy-making positions in government and in public agencies;
- (3) To emphasize high standards for both men and women in government positions, with reference to ability, training, experience and attitudes essential to good public service.

These purposes appealed so strongly to Detroit women that the Detroit and Michigan branches of twenty-nine national women's organizations* joined the Inter-Group Council, representing over 100,000 women. Two delegates from each group constitute the working organization. A file has been gathered of qualified women in all fields of activity: law, medicine, science, teaching, engineering, architecture, housing, social service, etc. When vacancies are about to occur on city or state commissions and are to be filled by the mayor of Detroit or the governor of Michigan, respectively, the Inter-Group Council presents the names of several qualified women to the appointing official and urges the selection of one of them or of some other qualified woman of his constituency. The Inter-Group has always urged the principle that society would be enriched by using the talents of competent women. The only occasions upon which the Inter-Group Council has recommended an individual for an office are those when only one woman could be found who had the necessary professional qualifications. At all other times the principle has been asserted

* These local organizations and Detroit branches of national organizations have been members of the Inter-Group: Altrusa, American Association of University Women, American Legion Auxiliary (Dept. of Mich.), American Medical Women's Assoc., American Society of Women Accountants, Democratic Club of Wayne Co., University of Michigan Women, Detroit Business Women's Club, Michigan State Nurses Assoc., Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, Detroit Women Principals' Club, Faculty Women's Club of Wayne University, Inter-Club Council of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Junior League, League of Catholic Women, League of Women Voters, Marygrove College, National Woman's Party, National Council of Jewish Women, Parent-Teacher Council, Pi Lambda Theta, Quota Club, School of Government, Soroptomist Club, Women's Advertising Club, Women Lawyer's Assoc., Zonta Club, Zonta Club of Highland Park, Wyandotte Business and Professional Women's Club.

that there were qualified women well able to serve their community in government, and the names of several qualified women along with their experience and background have been presented to the appointing official at the same time.

During the first five years of the existence of the Council Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit, son of parents who were both early suffrage leaders, appointed nine women to city commissions. There had been only two when he took office in 1940. He turned to the Inter-Group Council to find a woman architect to be appointed to the City Plan Commission and also a woman to be appointed to succeed the woman member of the Detroit Housing Commission, who had resigned.

From the beginning, an intensive educational program has been carried on within the Inter-Group Council to acquaint the members with various phases of government, with Detroit and Michigan women holding public office, and with the problems they face in these offices.

From the efforts of a small, understanding and devoted group of women banded together in 1943, there has eddied out into every phase of public life in Detroit a consciousness that there are highly competent women in almost all fields and at the same time an increasing willingness on the part of the general public to accept them as public officials. By 1948 it had been firmly established that there should be qualified women on city commissions and on civic committees appointed by the mayor. An interesting aspect of this trend is that where able women have served creditably on certain city commissions and in policy-making positions, other women have been appointed invariably to succeed them. The gains have been held. This has been felt in the public school system, where over fifty years elapsed between the appointment of the first assistant superintendent of schools, Mathilda Coffman, in 1891, and the appointment of another woman assistant superintendent of schools, Catherine Morgan, in 1945. Upon her retirement, another woman was appointed to succeed her.

This same trend has also been felt in state and county government in elective and appointive offices. Moreover, for the first time in the history of Detroit, a woman was elected a member of the City Council in 1949. The governor of the state who had said that he did not appoint women to public office because he did

not know any qualified ones was succeeded by others who have appointed many women to state commissions. Several have been appointed from Detroit, notably to the State Welfare, the Civil Service and the Labor Commissions, and the State Hospital Board.

In the judicial field, as far back as 1882 Judge Durfee appointed a woman appraiser of a deceased person's estate. In 1904 Judge Swan appointed Carrie Davison to succeed her father as clerk of the United States District Court. In 1919 Mrs. Clara Ireland was the first woman to be appointed as a Wayne County court reporter. Today all of the United States District Court judges have women law clerks. Scholarly research is a large part of their work, a task which women do well. In the Detroit Recorders' Court a woman judicial assistant directs research for all ten judges. Seven Detroit women have served as assistant prosecuting attorneys and several as assistant state attorneys general. One of the latter has served as chairman of the County Board of Canvassers for fourteen years, a position to which she is elected by the Board of Supervisors. She has presided over several important state recounts. For many years able women have served as deputy police commissioners, developing a woman's department which emphasizes social service to the women and children who come within its jurisdiction.

It is interesting to consider the matter of the jury commissions of the Wayne County Circuit and Recorder's courts and women serving as jurors. Soon after the granting of suffrage to Michigan women by statute in 1918, women were drawn as jurors. The first woman drawn on a jury in a Michigan court of record was drawn by Judge Edward J. Jeffries in the case of *People vs. Bartz*, 212 Michigan. The right of a woman to serve on a jury was challenged in this case and the verdict was appealed to the Michigan Supreme Court on that issue. The Supreme Court ruled that she had such a right. It is curious that a woman's right to serve as a juror was challenged, although she was an "elector," as required by law. Since that decision, hundreds of women have served their state as jurors, thus admitting them to the exercise of an extremely important function of government. The right of trial by one's peers is one of the cornerstones of our democratic government and women's inclusion in the term "peers" is important to their position of equality.

The jury commissions of both the Recorder's and the Wayne County Circuit courts are appointed by the governor. Women have been particularly effective as commissioners. In 1931 the first woman jury commissioner in the United States was appointed to the Jury Commission of Detroit Recorder's Court. She served under eight governors and was helpful in the adoption of the key system of selecting jurors, an impartial method of selecting and examining prospective talesmen. In 1936 another woman was added to the commission, and in 1946 the three member commission was composed entirely of women. In the Wayne County Circuit Court a total of six women have served on the Jury Commission. Since 1931 women have tended to succeed themselves in these offices.

A few Detroit women have been elected to the state Legislature. In 1948 two Detroit women lawyers were elected state representatives; another woman was elected in 1950. In 1952, for the first time, a Detroit woman, a lawyer, was elected to the state Senate, and another to the House of Representatives, both negroes.

To attain to a position on the bench is probably the dream of every lawyer. Two Detroit women have reached that goal. One started as a municipal judge in Dearborn and was elected to the Wayne County Circuit Court in 1941, one of seventeen judges. She was re-elected in 1947 and in 1953, leading the ticket in the last election. The other, a former state representative, was appointed by the governor to fill a vacancy on the Recorder's Court bench in the spring of 1953.

It is interesting to note how quickly labor and liberal groups have responded to this organized effort of women to gain public office and have supported and elected women sympathetic to their program. Certain nationality groups have done likewise, reversing an attitude which had prevailed until about 1945.

A few women have served in policy making positions on the Board which governs Michigan State College, on the State Board of Education, and on the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan. A Detroit woman was elected to the State Board of Education in 1939, serving as its president for the last three years of her six-year term, and another to the Board of Regents of the University in 1949, the latter after having served by appointment of the governor to an unexpired term in 1945. Another

woman had served previously on the Board of Regents by appointment of the governor. The election of a woman in 1949 to the Board of Regents of the University represented an organized effort of the women of the state, both alumnae and others. These wished to see a woman on that Board who would know at first hand the contribution that women have made to their university as well as the needs of the women students. With the 1952-1953 enrollment of 12,253 men and 4960 women, the need for women on the Board is increasingly important.

As an increasing number of eminently qualified women serve their city and their state with distinction, they are making the path smoother for all women. In the present state of society, women owe it not only to themselves but to other women to carry superlatively whatever public responsibility comes to them.

Young women who are starting their life's work today take for granted the advanced position they enjoy and the opportunities for education and service in all fields for which their training and abilities equip them. They think little of the tremendous struggle made by heroic women of the past that prepared the way. That has been the course of all history, forgetfulness of the past and dedication to the future. Woman's position is inextricably interwoven with a society in which the dignity of the individual and his right to develop his potentialities is of prime importance. It is interwoven with a society in which every group is permitted to assume its full share of responsibility in the development of that society. Women and men must be willing to submit to the drudgery and hardship necessary to achieve their aim. Part of that struggle is a continuing effort to understand and interpret the basic rights upon which the Western concept of democracy rests. Gains already won can be lost again because of the inertia of those who do not accept the responsibility to carry on.

Epilogue

DETROIT is neither a man's city nor a woman's city; it is a laboratory in which the human spirit seeks to realize itself. It is a laboratory in which men and women of patience and vision must work, not with test tube and minerals, but with the volatile elements of human relationships. Constantly they seek for ways in which human beings can be led to live, work, and play together without friction, as smoothly as in our great factories the many intricate parts of great engines mesh and turn in complete coordination.

The human problems faced in this laboratory are many and difficult. In industry, labor and management must work out a solution equitable to both by which workers can be assured of an annual wage on the basis of which to plan their lives. The solution has not yet been found, but whenever men and women sit down together in conference they come closer to finding it. Inter-racial relationships, particularly those between negro and white, present other problems. On the new City Commission of Human Relations, men and women are working together, as they have cooperated on the Urban League to eliminate friction and to establish a harmonious working relationship. Already there are signs that understanding and cooperation are growing for Detroit's mixed population. Underlying all plans for social health and development must be a plan for the city's physical expansion. The sudden increase in population in Detroit in this century outstripped all such plans. But the master plan for the city has been made and accepted, and men and women on the

City Plan Commission are working together on problems of housing, highways, and zoning, trying to safeguard equally the interests of all groups of citizens. These experiments and many others will continue in the laboratory that is the city, for building social health is a long-time project. The achievement of complete harmony between races, colors, creeds, and classes is a slow and intricate process, and those who do the research must study all aspects of community living. Only in this way can there evolve a city in which all persons may achieve self-realization.

Planning of this kind engages the highest reach of civic consciousness. It needs the thinking and the vision of both men and women. Men and women see things in different ways and at times have slightly different values. Together they see further around and more deeply into a problem than either could alone. Detroit needs the third dimension vision that results when men and women study together. If it is to have this in full measure men must want women's help in all aspects of civic planning and encourage their participation in problems of government. Women, too, must want to assume their full share of responsibility. The history of women's achievements shows all too often that a few leaders have been active on all fronts, while masses of women have taken no part in civic life. With the increased opportunities in education for women today, fuller participation in public life is now possible for more women. Women can today prepare themselves to face the problems that come with the advantages of a large city. They must also be willing to sacrifice some of their leisure and ease to work, either as volunteers or in paid positions, for the social well being of the city. Detroit needs the leadership of men and women of creative intelligence and human sympathy, and women must be prepared to give their share of this leadership.

Detroit has become a great city in size and industrial importance. The greatness that comes from well integrated social planning and full community cooperation has not so easily been attained. Only through the continued efforts of men and women to find the formula for the harmonious and active participation of all groups in the life of the city will this be achieved. Then and then only will the prophecy implicit in the Indian name for Detroit, Yon-do-ti-ga, great village, be fully realized.

APPENDIX

Participating Organizations

THE PUBLISHING of this book was the cooperative effort of hundreds of Detroit women through their organizations. Their eagerness to have the history written and their steadfast support of the effort enabled the Women's Achievement Committee to assume the financial responsibility involved.

The following eighty-six organizations underwrote twenty-five copies each of the history:

Altrusa Club of Detroit
American Association of University Women
American Legion Auxiliary, Detroit District Association
American Society of Women Accountants
American Women's Voluntary Services, Metropolitan Unit
Blackwell Branch, American Medical Women's Association
Catholic Study Club of Detroit
Chi Omega Alumnae of Detroit
Clark Women's Club
Clotho Club of Detroit
College Women's Club
College Women's Volunteer Service
Daughters of Scotland
Delta Kappa Gamma, Alpha Chapter
Detroit Association of University of Michigan Women
Detroit Association of Women's Clubs
Detroit Business Woman's Club
Detroit District, Michigan State Nurses Association

Detroit Federation of Women's Christian Temperance Union
Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs
Detroit Mount Holyoke Club
Detroit New Century Club
Detroit Parliamentary Law Club
Detroit Review Club
Detroit Secretaries Association
Detroit Section, National Council of Jewish Women
Detroit Sorosis
Detroit Women Principals' Club
Detroit Women Writers
Detroit Women's Council, Navy League of the United States
Esperia Club and Delta Iota Sigma Sorority
Faculty Women's Club of Wayne University
Federation of Mary Martha Service Guilds of Lutheran Charities
Friendly Sisters Club
Garden Club of Michigan
Harper Hospital School of Nursing
Historic Memorials Society in Detroit
Inter-Club Council, Business and Professional Women's Clubs of
Detroit
Inter-Group Council for Women as Public Policy Makers
Ladies of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul
League of Catholic Women
League of Jewish Women's Organizations
Louisa St. Clair Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution
Lutheran Ladies Mission Society
Mary Grant Society of Detroit
Marygrove College
Merrill-Palmer School
Michigan Branch, National Women's Party
Nancy Brown Club
National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, Gen. Alexander Macomb Chapter
Native Detroit Women's Club
Natural Health Clinic
Northwestern Business and Professional Women's Club
Northwestern Woman's Club
North Woodward Congregational Church Woman's Association
Peerless Arts Club

Pi Lambda Theta, Detroit Alumnae Chapter
Pilot Club of Detroit
Polish Women's Alliance of America, District 5
Quota Club of Detroit
Rosedale Park Women's Club
Salvation Army
Society of Engineers' Wives
Soroptimist Club of Detroit
State Society, Daughters of the British Empire in Michigan
Tau Beta Association
Triple S Club, North Woodward Congregational Church
United Council of Church Women
United Ukrainian Women's Organizations
Uptown Business and Professional Women's Club
Wayne County Woman's Republican Club
Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Michigan (Episcopal)
Woman's Auxiliary of St. John's Church (Episcopal)
Woman's Auxiliary, Wayne County Medical Society
Woman's Council of Second Baptist Church
Women Lawyers Association of Michigan
Women's Advertising Club of Detroit
Women's Association for the Detroit Symphony Orchestra
Women's Auxiliary of the Detroit Branch of the Volunteers of
America
Women's City Club
Women's Committee of United Community Services
Women's Fellowship, First Congregational Church
Wyandotte Business and Professional Women's Club
Young Woman's Home Association
Young Women's Christian Association of Detroit
Zonta Club of Detroit

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